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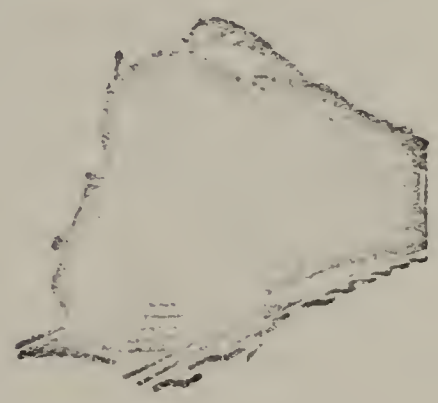
WORKING ON THE RAILROAD

Ross Smiley Marshall
Cleveland, Ohio, 1948

Working on the Railroad

By

ROSS S. MARSHALL



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CLEVELAND

Gift '57
Mrs. Ben C. Bowman

FOREWORD

After I retired from active business in 1954, at the age of 74, I realized that it was my duty to record what I could remember about my family and my experience, especially from 1880 to 1910. No one of my family before me had done anything like this, so far as I know, and those younger than me are not old enough to remember the early history of the family in Montana.

My first thought was to record from memory events of my early life that otherwise would be forgotten: this I shall do but reminiscence is not enough. My first remembered scene is that of a small boy toiling up a dusty road to a cemetery where the mortal remains of my brother Max were interred at Bozeman, Montana in 1883. That was not the time and place for my story to begin. From that point, I saw, that it would be necessary to back track down the trail as far as it could be discerned through the pages of history, family records and the dusty shelves of recorders vaults, to reveal the lives of men and women for more than a century.

It is fitting and proper to introduce my parents and their ancestors and having accepted that duty I have searched for two years to find the facts that are set forth, for the first time in large part, in the biographical sketches that follow.

Moving forward from that point on the trail at Bozeman, in 1883, the narrative depends largely on memory in a setting of relevant historical facts and contemporary records. As will appear the central theme is my own life and experience; that was the thing I intended to do.

R. S. Marshall.

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MARSHALL FAMILY TREE

JOHN MARSHALL 1756-1799 — ANN HADDEN 1767-1835

Married 1791

John Smilie c. 1750-1812 — Jane Porter ____-____

Married ____

Joseph Huston c. 1768-1824 — Mary Smilie ____-1799

Married c. 1790

ISAIAH H. MARSHALL 1792-1859 — JANE PORTER HUSTON 1791-1863

Married c. 1815

Luke Abbey 1787-1869 — Hannah Mills 1798-1874

Married c. 1820

Mary L. Rexroad c. 1816-____
Ann M. Beatty 1817-1904
Jane Rodgers c. 1820-____
Joseph H. Marshall 1827-____
JOHN SMILEY MARSHALL 1830-1866 — HANNAH E. ABBEY 1832-1897
William A. Marshall 1832-____
Andrew B. Marshall 1835-1863
Sarah B. Feaster 1837-1891

Married c. 1852

Patrick Smith c. 1830-1863 — Ellen McDermott 1838-1919

Married c. 1853

Ella Baker c. 1854 — Margaret Hutchinson c. 1854
Priscilla Howell c. 1855 — Richard Smith c. 1856
FRANKLIN P. MARSHALL 1856-1928 — MARY JANE SMITH 1859-1922
Emma Collins c. 1858
John Smiley Marshall II c. 1862-c. 1940

Married 1879

MARSHALL FAMILY TREE (*Continued*)

FRANKLIN PIERCE MARSHALL 1856-1928 — MARY JANE SMITH 1859-1922
Married 1879

ROSS Smiley Marshall March 15, 1880 — Grace Mona Gentle January 2, 1879
Married December 27, 1907

John Smiley Marshall III April 21, 1910 — Margaret O'Brien September 30, 1912
Married September 16, 1939

William Ross Marshall	January 22, 1941
James O'Brien Marshall	February 27, 1943
John Robert Marshall	March 15, 1945
Thomas Rutherford Marshall	July 19, 1946

William Bierd Marshall May 15, 1913 — Agnes Rebman November 5, 1915
Married September 23, 1941

Elizabeth Jo Marshall	January 3, 1944
Mona Jane Marshall	May 23, 1950

Ada Gentle Marshall July 19, 1918 — Howard John Seyffer January 9, 1918
Married September 28, 1940

Barbara Jane Seyffer	April 21, 1943
Charles Ross Seyffer	April 26, 1947
Margaret Marshall Seyffer	July 21, 1948
Martha Seyffer	July 19, 1951
Ada Marshall Seyffer	December 9, 1955

LARRIE Cleveland Marshall May 28, 1884-July 23, 1948
Agnes S. Stephenson April 16, 1889
Married August 1, 1915

Virginia Marshall June 14, 1916

BERTHA Montana Marshall August 13, 1886 — Frank C. Murray 1877-1917
Married October 14, 1911

John Franklin Murray May 11, 1915
David R. Hodges 1870, 1936
Married 1925

WALTER Vancleve Marshall March 29, 1890 — Mary Edith Stanley September 4, 1899
Married October 15, 1924

Marvin Stewart Marshall June 25, 1926

Ross Donald Marshall July 20, 1928 — Beverly Ellen Young August 1, 1930
Married December 23, 1950

Mary Catherine McBride	November 10, 1946 (Adopted)
William Samuel McBride	February 18, 1953 (Adopted)

MARY Jane Marshall September 30, 1894 — John Nevins Lohman March 27, 1894
March 4, 1952
Married September 27, 1930

JOHN Irving Marshall September 5, 1896 — Ruth Dougherty June 9, 1900
June 14, 1949
Married March 29, 1930
Jessica McCarthy
Married 1956

BESSIE Judith Marshall January 16, 1900 — Marvin Smith September 24, 1908
Married November 28, 1929

Marcia Smith November 6, 1930 — Don Hubber
Married October 11, 1949

Dale Hubber — February 8, 1955

CHAPTER I

The John Marshall Family

My father believed and related and it was written by my brother Walter Vancleve that the founder of our family in America was John Marshall who came from Ireland, enlisted in the Army of the Revolution, became an officer and married the daughter of a Virginia planter named Smiley. The only child of this union was Isaiah Marshall who moved from Pennsylvania to Illinois in 1837. Father said that Isaiah had four sons named Joseph, John Smiley, William and Bryson; he never mentioned any daughters. Franklin Pierce Marshall, the son of John Smiley, born in Illinois in 1856, was my father. When I was twelve years of age, living on Cottonwood Creek in Montana, I saw in the hands of my Uncle John Smiley Marshall a paper he was showing to father which Uncle John said was a commission, signed by George Washington, issued to his great grandfather John Marshall. I did not see the face of the paper but remember the incident as if it happened only yesterday.

The information we had about Isaiah Marshall and his family was incomplete and inaccurate. Between Isaiah in Illinois and his father John of the Continental Army was a hiatus of forty or fifty years and no recorded proof of their relationship. My first effort was to find an officer of the Revolution who was born in Ireland and entered service from Virginia or Pennsylvania.

Traveling from Minneapolis to Cleveland I stopped in Chicago and visited the Newberry Library August 23, 1955. I decided while there to examine every reference to every John Marshall in the indices of the Lineage Books of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This search uncovered the following entry:

> "Volume 20, page 331, No. 19906. Cora May Huntington, wife of Charles Smith Huntington, born in Clarence, Iowa. Daughter of Merrick Cummings and Anna King Beattie, his wife. Granddaughter of John Beattie and

Anna Maria Marshall, his wife. Great granddaughter of Isaac Haddock Marshall and Jane Porter Huston, his wife. Great, great granddaughter of John Marshall and Anna Blair, his wife. John Marshall, 1756-1799, entered Continental Army, as ensign in Miles Pennsylvania Regiment 1776, promoted Lieutenant 1777, Captain 1779 and served to the close of the war. He was born in Ireland. Died in Huntingdon, Pa. in 1799."

At that time I knew that Isaiah Marshall married Jane Huston but did not know that he had a daughter named Anna Maria. Allowing for probable errors in spelling this appeared to be a sound starting point for inquiry beginning at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

A letter to the Recorder of Wills of Huntingdon County brought a copy of the will of John Marshall in which he bequeathed all of his estate to Anne, his wife, and Isaiah Hadick, his son, in equal shares. In Rock Island County, Illinois, where great grandfather lived his name appears as Isaiah H. Marshall on his tombstone, on all deeds and public records and in the administration of his estate; in no instance discovered did he spell out his middle name. His descendants in the Beatty family called him Isaac Haddock and Isaiah Haddock. Ann M. Huston (see Anna Maria King below) wrote that his middle name was Haddoc, the maiden name of John Marshall's mother.

Calling at the post office in Hillsdale, Illinois, to inquire for the location of the old cemetery, the Postmaster, Howard Marshall Feaster, said that Isaiah H. Marshall was his great grandfather. Mr. Feaster said that he did not know Isaiah's middle name nor where he lived in Pennsylvania but he directed me to the monument over the graves of Isaiah H., Jane, his wife, Andrew, his son, and Sarah Marshall Feaster, his daughter, who was Howard Feaster's grandmother.

Examination of the probate record of the will of John Marshall revealed that a house and two lots in the main street of Huntingdon were sold by the Executor in 1804; by the terms of the will the Executor was required to obtain the consent and approbation of the widow to the sale of real estate. This consent attached to the recorded deed was signed by Ann King, as widow and relict of John Marshall, and recorded in the Common Pleas Court of Fayette County of which Uniontown is the county seat. In the meantime I had

written to Howard Feaster repeating my question as to where the Marshall family lived in Pennsylvania. A few days after receiving the copy of the consent signed by Ann King in Uniontown a letter came from Feaster saying among other things "the one thing I remember is that my Aunt Ida always said that the Marshalls came from Uniontown, Pa."

My correspondent in Huntingdon soon thereafter found a record of the marriage of Samuel King and Ann Marshall in that place July 7, 1801, as reported by Rev. John Johnson and recorded in Africa's History of Huntingdon County. A visit to Uniontown in December 1955 discovered the will of Samuel King who died in 1803. Further search of records and local histories in Uniontown definitely located Isaiah H. Marshall and his family in that place. Jane Huston, wife of Isaiah, was the daughter of Joseph Huston and Mary Smilie. John Smilie, an early inhabitant of Uniontown, was the father of Mary Smilie and the grandfather of Jane Huston.

In the eighteenth century much of southwestern Pennsylvania was claimed by the state of Virginia; its claim was not entirely without merit. The Ohio River territory west of Pittsburgh had been granted by Britain as a part of Virginia to the Ohio Company which was trying to settle it when the French entered it from Lake Erie. Governor Dinwiddie sent Major George Washington with a letter to the French Commandant which he delivered in November 1753. Washington traveled from Alexandria to Winchester and thence up the Potomac to Wills Creek (now Cumberland, Maryland) where he arrived November 14, 1753. He reached the Monongahela River on November 22 and Loggstown on the Ohio November 25. The distance he said was about 120 miles from Wills Creek to Shanapins (present Pittsburgh).

Uniontown, Pa., is on highway U. S. 40 which passes Fort Necessity and Braddock's grave and is the direct route from Cumberland to Pittsburgh; it was once called Nemacolin's Path after the Indian chief who first blazed it for Virginia. Many of the inhabitants of southwestern Pennsylvania came from Virginia and held titles under Virginia grants. These features of the early history of Fayette County suggest the origin of the tradition that our ancestor married the daughter of a Virginia planter; however, it was Isaiah who married the

granddaughter of John Smilie in Fayette County. My grandfather and my uncle were named John Smilie after Jane Huston's grandfather. The spelling of the name appears to have been changed to Smiley (my own middle name) by word of mouth transmission.

In D. A. R. 19906 the reference to Anna Maria Marshall was the first indication to my knowledge that Isaiah Marshall had any daughters although, in fact, he had at least five. Upon examination later of the probate record of Isaiah's estate Ann M. Beatty was named as one of his legal heirs. Learning that Ann M. Beatty lived in Illinois for some years after 1860 it seemed important to search for her descendants. I wrote to Howard Feaster asking for any information he could give me about the Beatty family and he sent my letter to Mrs. W. H. Hinn nee Marjorie O'Hair of Madison, Wisconsin. Mrs. Hinn is a granddaughter of Ann M. Beatty who was a sister of my grandfather John Smilie Marshall. Mrs. Hinn has been very helpful in giving me information from records of the Beatty family.

John Marshall of Tyrone County, Ireland.

John Marshall was born September 23, 1756 at Newtownstewart, also spelled Newtown Stewart, Tyrone County, Ireland. That small town population 682 in modern times is on the Mourne River nine miles N. N. W. of Omagh, the County seat. It is an agricultural market town. The castle there was destroyed by James II on his retreat from Londonderry (Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer). It was said that John ran away from home at the age of 17 and migrated to America where he enlisted in the Army of the Revolution. His father died before John left home. His mother married a man named Stewart and their son Charles Stewart came to America some time later and married Margaret Hadden a sister of Ann Hadden Marshall.

The military record of John Marshall was as follows:

Ensign 2nd Battalion, Col. Samuel Miles Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment	April	1776
Second Lieutenant, Third Pennsylvania Regiment	Nov. 11	1776

First Lieutenant, Third Pennsylvania Regiment	Jun. 10 1777
Captain Lieutenant, Third Pennsylvania Regiment	May 12 1779
Captain, Third Pennsylvania Regiment	Aug. 13 1779
Retired at end of war, discharged	Jan. 1 1783
Served as Ensign and Lieutenant under Captain Rudolph Bunner who was killed at the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, having been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel.	

The above record from Francis B. Heitman p. 380 verified by reference to the Pennsylvania Archives and confirmed in part by Anna King Cummings, Anna M. Huston and in D. A. R. No. 19906.

The above John Marshall was the only officer of that name from either Pennsylvania or Virginia who was born in Ireland. He enlisted at the age of twenty and was discharged before he was 27 years of age. He died in Huntingdon, Pa., September 23, 1799, age 43. All other officers of that name have been claimed by other persons not related to Isaiah H. Marshall and no other person except the descendant of Ann M. Beatty has claimed descent from the above John Marshall.

John Marshall married Ann Hadden of Uniontown, Pa., November 10, 1791. Isaiah H. Marshall was their only child. They presumably lived in Huntingdon, Pa., in the period 1792-1799. John Marshall's will was dated September 1, 1799 wherein he said that he was "sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory." He died September 23 and the will was admitted to probate November 7, 1799; recorded in Will Book No. 1, page 149, Huntingdon County. By that will he left his property to "my loving wife Anne and my son Isaiah Hadick to be equally divided between them." The administration of the estate seems to have extended over a long period of time, even to 1822, when the statement of the accountant was filed in court. The report of the Executor, John Blair, does not show the disposition of certain parcels of real estate.

John Marshall was a tavern keeper in Huntingdon in 1796 as shown by the tax assessment rolls for that year; he was the owner of a house and two lots known as 8 and 9 Hill Street. The Executor under the will sold these identical two lots in

1804 with the consent and approval of the widow, then Ann King of Uniontown. The record shows that John Marshall had interests in a farm at Frankstown and two lots in Holidaysburg, both of which are in Blair County, on the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata River. Rachael Y. Black of Huntingdon reported from Blair County history saying "John Marshall was first assessed in 1790." Also, from Africa's History P. 960 "Original list of lot owners, Boro Holidaysburg, then Huntingdon County, dated 1788"; it listed John Blair Lot No. 32, John Marshall No. 33 and No. 55. The probate record does not account for the disposition of these lots.

Ann Hadden, wife of John Marshall, was a daughter of Samuel Hadden and Margaretta Porter Armstrong and a sister of Thomas Hadden, said to be the first practicing Attorney at Law in Uniontown. She was born at or near Uniontown December 20, 1767. John Marshall probably married Ann Hadden in Uniontown. Ann Marshall returned to Uniontown after she married Dr. Samuel Moffitt King in Huntingdon, July 7, 1801. Dr. King was born February 16, 1766 and died in Uniontown August 5, 1803. Ann King, his widow, died in Uniontown June 23, 1835 at the home of her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Hadden, nee McClean. Barbara Hadden, sister of Ann, born in 1772, married John Blair who was an officer in the Revolution and the Executor named in the will of John Marshall, his brother-in-law.

Isaiah H. Marshall was born September 29, 1792, in Huntingdon, Pa. He was seven years of age when his father died. His father's will gave his name as Isaiah Hadick. He probably moved to Uniontown with his mother and step-father King shortly after 1801. We do not know where Isaiah went to school nor anything further about him until he enlisted in the War of 1812. He served as First Lieutenant of a company known as the "Madison Rowdies" under Captain Thomas Collins and Major Herkimer (of the Mohawk Valley) from August 27, 1812 to August 26, 1813. He certainly returned to Uniontown after his discharge from the Army at Oswego, N. Y.

Thomas Collins was the Sheriff of Fayette County 1796-1799. Appointed Postmaster by President Jefferson in 1802 he

kept the Post Office in his tavern. He raised the first company of troops for the War of 1812 in Fayette County. He continued to live in Uniontown as a tavern keeper after the war.

Isaiah H. Marshall purchased February 3, 1815 two parcels of land being nearly all of Lot 32 fronting 61 feet on Elbow Street (later named Main Street) and extending back about 150 feet to South Street; this was near the center of the business district of Uniontown. It was about that time that Isaiah married Jane Huston. Isaiah H. and Jane Marshall assigned all their interest in Lot 32, Uniontown for a consideration of $4,000 in 1816. Isaiah H. purchased 29 acres in Georges Township February 26, 1816; no record of later transfer from him was found. Isaiah H. and Jane assigned for a consideration of $250 on April 20, 1833 their interest in a parcel of land in Tyrone Township, willed to Jane by her grandfather John Smilie; their signatures to this conveyance were witnessed by Ann King, April 25, 1833.

Federal Census of 1830 (Volume 34, page 118, Tyrone Township, Fayette County, Pa.) shows the Isaiah H. Marshall family consisting of two males under five and one male thirty to forty, one female five to ten, two females ten to fifteen and one female thirty to forty. This correctly describes Isaiah and his wife Jane then about 38, Joseph H. about 3 and John S. a baby; Mary and Ann, about 14 and 13 and Jane under 10. Three other children William, Andrew and Sarah were certainly born after 1830. John S. Marshall, my grandfather, was listed in the 1850 census of Rock Island County, Illinois, as being 20 years of age on October 14, 1850.

Jane Huston was the daughter of Joseph Huston and Mary Smilie. Joseph Huston came to Union Township in 1790 and the same year was elected sheriff of Fayette County. He was in the mercantile business and later in the iron business at Huston Old Forge. His wife Mary was the daughter of John Smilie and by her he had two daughters, Jane who married Isaiah H. Marshall, at one time manager of the Fairfield Furnace, and Sarah who became Mrs. Andrew Bryson, Jr. Sarah later became the wife of George Dawson. Mrs. Mary Huston died in 1799 and Joseph Huston died in 1824. Jane Huston was born December 31, 1791 and married Isaiah c. 1814-1815.

Anna Maria King, the daughter of Samuel King and Ann Marshall, was born April 22, 1802. Dr. King, her father, died April 5, 1803. Ellis, History of Fayette County, says that Anna Maria King married Dr. Robert McCall and was the second wife of Judge John Huston; also that Anna Maria McCall was an original member of Cumberland Presbyterian Church December 23, 1832. According to Mrs. Sarah Hadden Cope, Anna Maria King married John Huston November 8, 1836; she does not mention Dr. McCall. Samuel King's first wife was Polly Coulter by whom he had three sons. When Samuel King died in 1803 he had three sons Eli, Samuel and William Henry from his first wife; one daughter from his second wife Ann Marshall and one step-son Isaiah H. Marshall. His will directed that $600 be paid to his wife, that she was to have everything she possessed "before our marriage" and a house furnished for her for one year. The remainder of his estate after the discharge of debts was to be divided into eleven parts, three parts to each of the sons by Polly Coulter and two parts to Anna Maria. The will was approved by Ann Marshall King in writing at the time it was signed by Samuel King. Anna Maria Huston died June 2, 1894 and her second husband Judge John Huston died May 19, 1872.

John Smilie of Tyrone.

John Smilie was a native of Ireland and came to America shortly before the Revolution. He settled in Lancaster County, Pa., and was one of the Committee of Safety of that County. In June 1776 he was a member of the Provincial Conference at Philadelphia which resolved "to form a new government for this Province upon the authority of the people only." In 1778 and 1779 he represented Lancaster County in the State Assembly. John Smilie married Jane Porter of Lancaster (c. 1772) and removed to Fayette (c. 1780). He acquired 400 acres of land in 1786 situated about five miles west of Connellsville. In 1789 Albert Gallatin and John Smilie represented Fayette in the State convention which framed the constitution of 1790. In 1792 John Smilie was one of the thirteen members elected from Pennsylvania to the Third Congress of the United States; he was re-elected in 1798 and 1800 from the district of

Fayette-Westmoreland and for six successive terms in 1802-4-6-8-10 and 12 from the district of Fayette and Green counties.

John Smilie died at the City of Washington while attending the 12th Congress on the 29th December 1812 and was interred in the Congressional Cemetery. In November 1812, Henry Clay being Speaker of the House, Mr. Smilie was appointed Chairman of the Select Committee on Foreign Relations—an important office in that first year of the War with Great Britain. John Smilie was a member of Tyrone Presbyterian Church of which he was a founder and liberal supporter. He had one son and two daughters of whom Mary Smilie, the older, was the wife of Joseph Huston. Two daughters were born to Joseph Huston and Mary Smilie of whom Jane Huston, the older, married Isaiah H. Marshall. (Condensed from pp. 138-148—The Monongahela of Old—James Veech.)

Isaiah H. Marshall probably moved to Illinois in 1837. His youngest daughter Sarah was born in Virginia in that year. The Illinois census of 1850 lists the family as follows:

Inhabitants in District 37 (Canoe Creek) Rock Island County, Illinois, enumerated October 14, 1850.

Name	*Age-Sex*	*Occupation*	*Place of Birth*
Isaiah Marshal*	58 M	Farmer	Pennsylvania
Jane Marshal	58 F		Pennsylvania
Joseph Marshal	23 M		Pennsylvania
John S. Marshal	20 M		Pennsylvania
William A. Marshal	18 M		Pennsylvania
Andrew B. Marshal	16 M		Virginia
Sarah Marshal	13 F		Virginia

Value of Real Estate $1,000.

*The name was spelled with one l in the census record.

Three older daughters, Mary, Ann and Jane, had been married and did not live with the family in 1850. Andrew Bryson was born March 29, 1835 although he is registered at age 16 in October 1850. At this writing I have been unable to ascertain where in Virginia Andrew and Sarah were born. In the period 1835-1837 Virginia included what is now West Virginia. Monongalia County, West Virginia, of which Morgantown is the county seat, borders on Fayette County, Penn-

sylvania. It is about thirty miles from Uniontown to Morgantown and twelve miles to the West Virginia state line. It seems probable that the family moved over the Mason and Dixon line a few years before moving to Illinois.

A record of the Beatty family says that Isaiah and Jane had thirteen children of whom four died in infancy. It appears that Priscilla next younger than Ann M. Beatty married a William Marshall of Cordova (the same name but no relation), and later died in childbirth; she does not appear as one of the heirs of Isaiah in the probate record.

Records of deeds and tax rolls in Rock Island County show that Isaiah H. Marshall owned about 600 acres of land of which 160 acres was a homestead grant from the United States and another 160 acres was purchased from Elihu B. and Adele Gratiot Washburn, September 20, 1850; all of this land was in Sections 17 and 18, Township 19, north range 3 east, about two miles north of Hillsdale. Just before he died in 1859 Isaiah and members of his family owned all of the 640 acres in Section 17. Isaiah H. served as a member of the Board of Supervisors of Rock Island County, from the Canoe Creek District, in 1857. The minutes of the Board show that he was regular in attendance and active in the proceedings.

Isaiah H. Marshall died September 11, 1859 and was buried in Bethesda Cemetery about one mile south of Hillsdale Post Office (on Highway U. S. 2). The monument over his grave bears inscriptions as follows:

West face—Isaiah H. Marshall died September 11, 1859
Age 66 years 11 months 13 days.
1st Lieutenant U. S. Volunteers
Command of Major John Herkimer
in the state of Pennsylvania War of 1812.

North face—Jane wife of Isaiah died June 6, 1863
Age 71 years 5 months 6 days.

Sarah B. Feaster 1837-1891

South face—Andrew B. Marshall died September 25, 1863
Age 28 years 5 months 27 days
Co E 126 Regiment Illinois Infantry Volunteers.

Jane and William A. Marshall applied to the Probate Court October Fifth, 1859 to have themselves appointed administrators of the estate of Isaiah H. and in that application

they named all of the lawful heirs other than themselves as follows:

Mary G. Rexroad, Ann M. Beatty, Jane Rodgers,
Joseph H. Marshall, John S. Marshall,
Andrew B. Marshall and Sarah B. Marshall.

The Administrators bond was signed by Jane Marshall, William A. Marshall, John S. Marshall, Jos. H. Marshall, Perry Henderson and John M. Walker. Jane and William A. Marshall petitioned the Court, September 18, 1860 for authority to sell certain lands from the estate and use the proceeds to pay certain debts remaining unpaid and owing by the estate. The Court by order dated September 20, 1860 authorized the sale of said real estate, to the extent necessary to pay such debts, at public auction upon the premises at the late residence of the deceased. The Court found that there were no minor heirs and all of the heirs had due legal notice, all by personal acknowledgment of service except as to Ephraim Rexroad and that he had legal notice by publication in the Port Byron Times.

The sale was held as ordered on December 1, 1860 and the several parcels of land were sold and struck off to Andrew B. Marshall, he being the highest and best bidder for the sum of $830. This land consisted of 2 tracts of 40 acres and 2 tracts of 80 acres, a total of 240 acres all in Section 17. The prices per acre ranged from $8.00 for the southwest quarter of the northwest quarter down to $1.25 per acre for the east half of the northeast quarter. The deed was signed and witnessed before J. S. Marshall, Justice of the Peace, December 14, 1860 but it was not recorded until March 20, 1863.

On July 1, 1862 Andrew B. Marshall sold to Jane Marshall for the sum of $100 the two forty acre tracts that he had purchased at auction in 1860 for $560. Andrew B. Marshall enlisted in the Illinois Volunteers in 1862 and his mother Jane Marshall was living at that time at the old home on that land. Both Jane and Andrew died in the year 1863.

A memorandum in the records of the Beatty family states that Isaiah Marshall was a man of fine physique, six feet tall, handsome appearance, good manners, social and generous, a good and obliging neighbor, kind husband and father. (This probably was written by one of Isaiah's daughters.)

Mary L. Rexroad was the second child of Isaiah H. and Jane Marshall (the first died in infancy); she was born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, c. 1816; she was not yet 15 years of age when the 1830 census was taken. She was listed first of the heirs of Isaiah H. in 1859. In the 1850 census of Newton Township, Whiteside County, Illinois appears the family of Henry Rexroad who came there from Virginia. In the same township appears Mary L. Rexroad, age 35, born in Pennsylvania, as head of family with a son William A. age 2 years and a daughter Katharine L. age 1 year, both born in Illinois; also in that family were listed Mary and Laura Hammond, ages 15 and 12, both born in Virginia. The Ephraim Rexroad who was not contacted by the administrators in 1860 probably was the husband of Mary Rexroad but if so he seems also to have been absent when the census of 1850 was taken. In 1880 William A. Rexroad owned the south east quarter of the south east quarter of Section 17, a part of the estate of Isaiah H. Marshall in the Canoe Creek District of Rock Island County. It appears that Mary L. Marshall married a relative of Henry Rexroad whose forbears lived in Virginia for several generations.

Ann M. Beatty was the third daughter of Isaiah H. and Jane Marshall born in Fayette County, Pa., October 10, 1817. She was married to John Mackey Beatty (sometimes spelled Beattie) in Pennsylvania December 26, 1832; they moved to Illinois in 1857. They had eleven children of whom three sons were named Isaiah Marshall, William Bryson and George Dawson; eight daughters were Anna King who married Merrick Cummings (see D. A. R. 19906), Mary Marjorie the mother of Mrs. Hinn and Sarah, Jane Huston, Alice, Louisa, Eleanor and Isabella. The descendants of Anna King Beatty Cummings claimed descent from Captain John Marshall. John Beatty and Anna Maria Beatty both joined the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Uniontown September 15, 1833. John Beatty was a justice of the peace in 1844 and a Commissioner of Fayette County in 1851.

In the records of Rock Island County we find Anna Beatty in person signing as a witness to a deed from Andrew B. to William A. Marshall on August 26, 1862. In 1870 Ann M.

Beatty owned the south east quarter of the north east quarter of Section 17 and William Beatty owned another quarter of the Isaiah Marshall estate in that Section. The 1870 census of Canoe Creek Township shows a family that appears to be the same as that described above.

Ann Beatty and William Beatty advertised the sale of a farm near Hillsdale October 3, 1874 to be sold at public auction October 21, 1874. Ann Beatty moved to Iowa City in 1898 and died there July 12, 1904. John M. Beatty died February 28, 1890. William Beatty moved to Montana and I remember that he lived with Sam Blessing on a small farm on the head of Cottonwood Creek, in Fergus County, in 1892-3. This Bill Beatty as we called him was a small man who was always laughing, or giggling; he was an accomplished housekeeper, expert in needle work, a splendid cook (including pastries) and enjoyed entertaining the neighbors. Sam Blessing, his partner, was a large silent man who did all the outside work and enjoyed eating Bill's cooking.

Jane Rodgers, the fourth daughter of Isaiah H. and Jane Marshall, appears in the 1830 census in Tyrone Township, Fayette County, Pa., and was listed as one of the heirs of Isaiah in 1859. In a letter dated March 18, 1868 from Anna M. Huston to Ann M. Beatty she wrote: "Mr. Rogers, Jane and Little George came to see us in the winter. Jane has lived among the cold selfish Yankees so long she thought she never saw so many kind people. When she left here she said she had helped to eat 19 turkeys." This seems to prove that Jane did not follow the other Marshalls to Illinois. (Note that Mrs. Huston spells the name Rogers.)

Sarah Marshall Feaster was the youngest child of Isaiah and Jane Marshall. She was born in Virginia in 1837 just before the family moved to Illinois. The Illinois Census of 1850 shows she was thirteen years old on October 14 of that year. She was listed under her maiden name as last of the heirs of Isaiah H. in October 1859. She married William T. Feaster c. 1859 who served in the war and died at the age of thirty in 1865 leaving three children and another child was born after his death. The census of 1870 shows Sarah Feaster

as the head of family 34 years of age as of August 5. Sarah Feaster was the owner of the southwest quarter of the north east quarter of Section 17, a part of the parental estate, in 1870, 1880 and 1883 and thereafter for some years. She died in 1891. One of her grandsons, Howard Marshall Feaster, is Postmaster at Hillsdale and his brother is a farmer on the Isaiah H. Marshall land, or a part of it, as this is written.

Joseph H. and William A. Marshall appear in the 1850 census and in the administration of the estate. There has not been adequate time to inquire about their families. On June 1, 1870 Joseph H. was a farmer in Newton Township of Whiteside County. His wife May age 36 at that time was born in Pennsylvania. They had six children all born in Illinois; the youngest one named Isaiah H. was born in July 1869.

On August 5, 1870 William A. lived in Canoe Creek Township, Rock Island County, probably on the parental estate where he acquired forty acres from Andrew B. Marshall in 1862. His wife Rachael, age 33 at that time, was born in Pennsylvania. They had two children at the date of the 1870 census. Ella Marshall, age 16, the daughter of John S. Marshall deceased, lived with her Uncle William at that time. William A. who lived in Topeka, Kansas, in later life was known as Uncle Bill in the Beatty Family and was a close friend of Isaiah M. Beatty.

Luke Abbey was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1787; he came to the United States in 1818 and located in Trenton, New Jersey. He moved to Ohio in 1833 and lived in Licking County until he moved to Whiteside County, Illinois, in 1837. He located a claim under a United States grant in Section 24 of Township 20, later called Newton. He acquired other lands and built a fine farm and residence where he lived until he died in November 1869. He was married three times and his third wife Hannah Mills, who was born in Mt. Holly, New Jersey, bore him seven children. One of these, Hannah Abbey, born in 1832, married John S. Marshall c. 1852.

John Abbey, son of Luke, born in Licking County, Ohio in November 1833 continued to operate the farm in Newton

after his father died. The 1870 census shows the Abbey family living in Newton, July 7, 1870 as listed below:

Name of family	*Age-sex*	*Occupation*	*State of Birth*
Abbey, Hannah	72 F		New Jersey
Abbey, John	36 M	Farmer	Ohio
(Real estate $5,500, personal $1,700.)			
Abbey, Anna	23 F	Housekeeper	Pennsylvania
Abbey, Luke	3 M		Illinois
Abbey, Lucy	8 mo. F		Illinois
Marshall, Hannah	38 F	Widow	New Jersey
Marshall, Franklin	14 M		Illinois
Marshall, Emma	12 F		Illinois
Marshall, John	10 M		Illinois

Here are the widow and three of the children of John S. Marshall, deceased, living on the Abbey farm with the widow and son of Luke Abbey. Ella the oldest child of Hannah was living with her Uncle William. Priscilla, another daughter of Hannah, is missing from this record. They probably continued to live there for several years before they moved back to Canoe Creek, near Hillsdale, Rock Island County.

John Smilie Marshall was born in Tyrone Township, Fayette County, Pa., in 1830 and moved with his father to Illinois in 1837. He married Hannah L. Abbey c. 1852 and lived in the Canoe Creek District of Rock Island County. He was a Justice of the Peace in 1859 and 1862. He bought 40 acres of land from his brother Andrew in 1862 and owned other lands in Section 17 in 1859. His five children were Ella, born c. 1854, Priscilla, c. 1855, Franklin Pierce, December 1856, Emma, c. 1858 and John Smilie II, born c. 1860. John Smilie I went out to Montana in 1864 and died at York, Montana, near Canyon Ferry, August 16, 1866 of typhoid fever.

Patrick Smith and Ellen McDermott were both born in Ireland, Ellen c. 1838 and Patrick was a few years older. It was said that her family objected to the marriage because Pat was a policeman, so they ran away and were married when Ellen was only fourteen. They were both Catholics but were

married by civil authority in Ireland and again in the Catholic church in Massachusetts. They lived in Massachusetts when Margaret was born in 1854, in Canada when Richard was born in 1856 and in Illinois when Mary Jane was born in 1859. Patrick enlisted in Company I 75th Regiment, Illinois Volunteer infantry and served until January 1, 1864. He was in seven major battles from October 8, 1862 to November 28, 1863 including Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. He died in an Army Hospital in Nashville, Tennessee.

Ellen Smith married James Scott, an Army Veteran, and we find them living in Erie, Whiteside County, Illinois, July 6, 1870 where Scott was a railroad trackhand; he also was born in Ireland. After her children were married Ellen moved to Kansas and later to Montana. Her third husband was an Irish Catholic named Patrick Lynch whom she also outlived. She died at Missoula, Montana, January 9, 1919 at the age of 81.

Franklin Pierce Marshall.

Franklin Pierce Marshall was born at Hillsdale, Illinois, December 26, 1856; he was named after the democratic President elected by a smashing majority in 1852. While the democrats were able to elect Buchanan in 1856 their power waned and faded until Grover Cleveland became President in 1885. My brother, born in 1884, was named Larrie Cleveland. The family name John Smilie was bestowed by grandfather John Smilie on his second son and youngest child. Soon after his second son was born grandfather went to Montana to engage in gold mining. Difficulty of travel and the ages of his young family prohibited taking them with him on this arduous journey up the Missouri River. He probably hoped to strike a bonanza and bring back wealth within a few years. It was probably soon after grandfather's death in 1866 that the family was obliged to move to the farm of Luke Abbey.

Franklin spent much of his boyhood on the Abbey farm. His education consisted of a few years at country schools. He was married at age 23 to Mary Jane Smith, at Zuma Church, about three miles southwest of the Hillsdale Postoffice in 1879. He had learned telegraphy while working at country stations

John Smiley Marshall
Port Byron, Illinois, 1862

on the Burlington railroad which runs through Hillsdale. This training enabled him to get employment as telegraph operator on the Northern Pacific railroad which was building across the state of Montana when he moved to Billings, Montana in 1883. Further details of life in Montana will be given in relation to my reminiscences down to the year 1902, at least, when I moved from Montana to Chicago.

Father was well known in Great Falls as Frank P. Marshall. He was foreman and freight clerk at the Great Falls freight house of the Great Northern Railway in 1900-1903 and lived at 607 8th Street South. After that he was employed by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company in charge of railroad freight settlements. The copper ore was moved from Butte, or copper concentrates from Anaconda, for treatment at the Great Falls plant. He became associated with the Democratic party organization in Cascade County and held county offices as follows:

Under sheriff	December	24, 1904
Deputy sheriff		1907
Deputy treasurer	April	24, 1908
Deputy clerk of the Court	January	4, 1909
Deputy clerk of the Court	January	1913
Deputy clerk of the Court	January	1916
Deputy clerk of the Court	January	1921

Republicans were elected or appointed to county offices following the elections of November 1920 and it was not long before an appointment failed to come to life long democrat Frank P. Marshall. He was a member of the Masonic order, A. F. & A. M. from 1886 to the time of his death in 1928. His record as a Mason follows:

Valley Lodge No. 21, Townsend, Montana

Entered apprentice	May	22, 1886
Master mason	July	10, 1886
Demitted	March	28, 1891

Boulder Lodge No. 41, Boulder, Montana

Charter member	March	28, 1891
Demitted	February	2, 1905

Cascade Lodge, No. 34, Great Falls, Montana

Admitted from Boulder No. 41	January 24,	1905
Worshipful Master		1908
Worshipful Master		1912
Patron of Olive Chapter, Order of Eastern Star	two terms	
Grand patron, Order of Eastern Star, Montana		1918
Member, Royal Arch Chapter No. 9, Great Falls.		

Mary Jane Marshall was worthy matron, Order of Eastern Star at Great Falls.

John Smiley Marshall II was born in Rock Island County, Illinois, c. 1860. He lived with his mother at the Luke Abbey farm for several years. When he and his brother Frank were old enough to be helpful in running the farm his mother moved back to the land which his father had acquired in Section 17 near Hillsdale; they continued to live there until about 1883. Probably John and his mother moved to Cottonwood Creek, Fergus County, Montana about the same time that Franklin moved to Billings, Montana in 1883. John was married to Margaret Shook of Rock Island County a few years later. Frank and John moved together from Fergus County to Palouse Valley, Washington in 1893 as related more fully below. John and his family returned to Cottonwood Creek and lived there for some years until he moved to Salem, Oregon. Howard Feaster says that when his father died May 24, 1937 he sent word to John S. Marshall at Salem and received a reply written on the letter head of "Marion County Democratic Central Committee, John S. Marshall, Chairman, Salem, Oregon." Under the photo of F. D. R. in the upper left corner was the slogan "Root for Roosevelt." Howard Feaster also identified his uncle John Huston Feaster in the photograph herein with uncle John and my father. According to the Beattie family memoranda John S. Marshall had the service record documents of Captain John Marshall of the Revolution and these may be in possession of one of his descendants. My recent inquiry to his daughter was not answered. John S. died in Salem, Oregon, c. 1940.

Frank P. Marshall

John Smiley Marshall II John Huston Feaster

Great Falls, Montana, 1907

CHAPTER II

Marshall Family in Montana

The completion of the Northern Pacific Railway in September 1883 across the State of Montana along the route explored by Lewis and Clark was the stimulant that encouraged the growth and development of that state. The extension of the Great Northern Railway to Helena and Butte in 1888 opened additional territory especially at Great Falls and vicinity. Population growth was so vigorous that Montana was admitted to statehood November 8, 1889. Population of Montana Territory was 20,595 in 1870 and increased only to 39,159 in 1880; but in the decade to 1890 increased to 132,159. Large increases appeared at Great Falls, Helena, Anaconda and Bozeman and in the counties of Missoula, Jefferson and Fergus. Most of the people who settled in Montana at that time came after 1883 from the rural areas of the midwestern states. Rock Island County, Illinois increased less than 10% but that growth was entirely at the industrial cities of Rock Island and Moline. Canoe Creek, Coe, Cordova and Hampton townships all show decreases. Whiteside County shows a net decline with larger losses in the rural areas such as Newton and Geneseo. The Frank Marshall family and others from Rock Island and Whiteside counties were typical of the migration in that decade to the Dakotas, Montana and other western states.

My Story Begins.

As written above my grandmother and three of her children were living with John Abbey at Newton in 1870. The forty acre farm purchased by grandfather John Smilie in 1862 continued to be taxed in his name until 1880 and that fact suggests that grandmother moved back there as soon as her two sons were old enough to manage it c. 1876. Franklin lived in Canoe Creek when he was married in 1879.

I was born at Hillsdale, Rock Island County, Illinois, March 15, 1880. I have said many times that I was born in

Rock Island thinking that Hillsdale was like a suburb of Rock Island City. It was not until 1955 that I learned that Hillsdale is 22 miles from Moline and there is very little physical or social relationship with industrial Rock Island and Moline at the present. At the time I was born father was a telegraph operator on the Burlington. Since there was no great democrat then in office I was named after Ross Wescott, a train dispatcher whom father admired, plus the family name Smiley. At times in later years father addressed me as Roscoe but I believe that was not the dispatcher's name.

Father became a telegraph operator on the Northern Pacific at Billings, Montana. He arrived there in the early spring of 1883. The railroad was not connected through to the Pacific coast until September of that year. As early as I can remember all of my father's brothers and sisters and Grandmother Hannah lived in Montana. Probably they all moved c. 1883 as he did. The Northern Pacific, no doubt, offered free transportation and other inducements to employes and families; the need for men to run the new railroad was pressing. John Smiley II lived on a homestead on Cottonwood Creek in Fergus County. Grandmother lived there with Uncle John and she owned an adjoining homestead. Aunt Ella who had married Zacharia Baker in Illinois in 1878 also had a homestead about a mile down Cottonwood from Uncle John. I suppose they shipped out to Billings by rail and there acquired horses and equipment for the 200 mile trek from Billings to Cottonwood.

Mother's brother Richard and his wife lived in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, when I first heard of him. Mother's sister and her husband William Hutchinson moved from Illinois to Kansas and then to Montana a few years later and I remember them at Skyline, near the Mullan tunnel, as employes of the Northern Pacific. Father and his kinfolks were attracted by the glamor of the west and the variety of opportunities in the development of the new country to move away from the hard work for little profit on the farms in Illinois.

Lewis and Clark Exploration.

My family lived at several places along the trail first blazed by Lewis and Clark eighty years earlier; at railroad

stations along the Missouri River between Three Forks and Helena; at Prickly Pear Jct. (East Helena) in Lewis and Clark County; at Great Falls where they portaged around the Falls. We traveled along the Missouri, the Hell Gate and Clarks Fork. The discovery of the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792 by Captain Robert Gray and the transfer of Louisiana Territory from Spain to France a few years later were two events that speeded action to acquire that territory for the United States. Thomas Jefferson knew the importance of gaining full control of the Mississippi-Missouri water shed, including the port of New Orleans, and confirming the American claim to the Oregon Country. The purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon was one of the important events in United States history.

The area of the territory purchased was computed to be 827,987 square miles, nearly 30% of the area of the continental United States. The price paid was $27 million, about $33 per square mile, or say five cents per acre. The boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase were defined but the territory from the eastern border of Montana at meridian 104 to the line of meridian 117, which is now the western border of Idaho, and between parallels 46 and 49, were largely unexplored and unknown to white men.

Meriwether Lewis, private secretary to President Jefferson, was instructed by the President to "explore the Missouri River and such principal stream of it as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, may offer the most practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce." The emphasis on water communication was based on the belief that the Missouri was navigable nearly to its source from which a short portage would reach the Columbia. This direction confined the expedition to water routes as far as possible. Thomas Jefferson did not foresee the settlement and development of the western states by land transport.

Lewis had become a Captain in the Army in 1797, and held his rank while secretary to the President. In the army he met William Clark also a Captain, four years his senior, who later resigned his commission. When Lewis was assigned

to lead the expedition he asked for Clark, and the President appointed him as Captain although his Commission came from the War Department as Second Lieutenant of Artilleries. The matter of rank did not concern the two friends. William Clark was an experienced woodsman and very skillful in dealing with the Indians; his red hair and innate fearless honesty impressed the Indians and they called him "the white man whose tongue is straight."

Lewis and Clark started from St. Louis to ascend the Missouri on May 18, 1804 and reached the Mandan Villages, about sixty miles up stream from Bismarck, about November 1, 1804. The weather was getting cold and they decided to go into winter quarters. Here they spent the winter to good advantage gaining the good will of the Indians and getting information about the country ahead of them. They met the French half-breed Charbonneau and engaged him as an interpreter. His wife was a young squaw named Sacajawea. or Bird woman, a Shoshoni or Snake Indian from the unknown country beyond the great divide. The Minataree or Gros Ventre Indians at the Mandan Villages were friendly and gave them information, some of it inaccurate, about the Missouri and its tributaries. De Voto says that these Indians described two routes to passes of the continental divide both of which meant fairly long stretches of land travel. One to the west over land from the Great Falls to the Bitter Root river was short and easy. The other continued up the Missouri to Three Forks and then crossed the divide to the Lemhi River in Idaho; none of these Indians knew anything about the country beyond the Lemhi Pass.

Early in 1805 they continued up the river. The area they were now about to cross had never been visited by white men. They had gained an accurate conception of the Yellowstone River and of the Missouri to the Great Falls. They passed the mouth of the Yellowstone and of the Milk and of the Musselshell, but when they came to another large stream coming in from the north (this was near Fort Benton) they were uncertain whether the north fork or the south fork was the main river. Clark was certain within a day or two that the south fork was the Missouri but Lewis determined to ex-

plore the north fork before making up his mind. This exploration up the north fork was difficult and it was several days before Lewis returned to the confluence, having decided that this river came from a source too far north, probably beyond 49 latitude. He named the river Marias, after his wife, and followed Clark to overtake him at the Great Falls.

It may be noted here that if Lewis and Clark had gone up the Marias River they would have found the Marias Pass, the lowest and easiest pass of the continental divide, taking them directly into the Columbia River watershed at Lake Pend Oreille. On the other hand that route leads to the Columbia near latitude 49, at the Canadian border, and a very long water route down the Columbia to the Oregon state line. The route they took through the Lolo Pass, although a very difficult land portage, brought them to the Columbia at the mouth of the Snake River, a very great difference in the amount of water travel.

Arriving at the Great Falls it was necessary to find a portage to transport the equipment, canoes and dugouts around the falls and rapids. This portage was on the south side of the river from Portage Creek to a camp opposite White Bear Island near the mouth of Medicine River, later called Sun River. That island was infested with white bears and grizzlies, both ferocious. The journal relates that they bought wheels and axles in St. Louis for use at portages but here at Great Falls they were using wooden wheels turning on wooden axles and the carts pulled by men, not by horses. The cottonwood was too soft for axles and they learned to use willow trees growing there in abundance. The portage was eighteen miles over the bench, covered with prickly pears, through or near the site of the present city of Great Falls.

After cutting timber and making additional dugout canoes they proceeded up the river. (In 1899, I worked with an extra gang on the railroad between Cascade and Wolf Creek where the railroad follows the bank of the river skirting around high cliffs in many places.) Above Wolf Creek the river emerges from the "Gate of the Mountains" through which it runs between cliffs 800 to 1200 feet high. Once committed to that passage the expedition was compelled to drive through to the open

valley south of Helena near the mouth of Prickly Pear Creek. The instructions required them to determine if the river was navigable, otherwise they might have gathered horses from the Indians and used land transport to good advantage. The Montana Central railroad leaves the river at Wolf Creek and runs through fairly open country to Helena.

From the "Gate of the Mountains" the route up the river was fairly easy to the source of the Missouri at Three Forks. They decided to follow the right fork which they named Jefferson River; the middle fork was named Madison and the left fork Gallatin. They were told by Sacajawea that Indians of her tribe had used a pass reached by way of the right fork and this seemed to conform to the route suggested by the Minaterees. There was a pass called the Pipestone Pass to the head waters of the Deer Lodge river which they failed to find. They continued up the Jefferson and then up the Beaverhead all the while in a southwesterly direction; this seemed to be right because they were still farther north than the mouth of the Columbia river. They turned westward near the present town of Armstead, Montana, and crossed the Bitter Root Divide at Lemhi Pass, the one mentioned by the Minaterees. At that place the Bitter Root divide coincides with the Continental divide. They proceeded down the Lemhi River, a tributary of the Salmon River; when they reached the westward turn of the Salmon River, in Idaho, they learned from the Nez Perce Indians that it would be impossible to descend that stream through the gorge to the Snake River. Captain Clark examined it from a distance and decided they were right. The Indians led them to Lost Trail pass, from the North Fork of Salmon River to the headwaters of the Bitter Root River, which flows into Clarks Fork near Missoula. Now they were still on the west side of the Continental divide but they were east of the Bitter Root divide. They encamped at the entrance to Lolo pass and named the camp Travelers Rest.

Whether or not Lewis and Clark knew they were camped on the waters of the Columbia River is uncertain; they could have descended Clarks Fork to the Columbia via Lake Pend Oreille. On the other hand if they had known the facts about the courses of the Columbia from the Canadian border to its

mouth they might have chosen the Lolo pass in preference. From this camp they proceeded along the Lolo trail, with the Lochsa River two to three thousand feet below them, to the headwaters of the Clearwater River and thence via the Snake River to the Columbia.

The route Lewis and Clark followed was the longest and toughest they could have found. Disregarding the Marias pass route for reasons noted, they missed four passes of the Continental divide that would have been shorter and easier. All of these would have involved land transport which finally they used extensively. They had to explore the water routes, of course. First, they could have ascended Sun River west from Great Falls and crossed the divide to the Big Blackfoot River which flows to Clarks Fork opposite the mouth of the Bitter Root, thence to Lolo pass. Second, they could have crossed the divide at the Mullan pass a few miles west of Helena thence down the Little Blackfoot, the Hell Gate and the Missoula to the Bitter Root. Third, they could have turned west and northwest from the Jefferson River through Pipestone pass and down the Deer Lodge river to Garrison on the Hell Gate. Fourth, they might have turned from the Jefferson river to the Big Hole river and through Gibbons pass to the Bitter Root River; Clark used this route on the return trip. The Lolo pass was the only way to reach the Columbia at the mouth of the Snake.

The Bitter Root mountains extend from Yellowstone Park to Lake Pend Oreille. They are more broken and rugged than the Rockies. Even today, in 1955, there is no highway and no trail across them except the Lolo pass, which remains impassable for vehicles, and the Lemhi pass and the lateral crossing from the Salmon river to the Bitter Root called the Lost Trail Pass at elevation 6981.

In March 1806 Lewis and Clark started the return trip from the mouth of the Columbia. From Lolo pass Lewis went up the Big Blackfoot and down the Sun River to Great Falls. Remembering his brief survey of the Marias river Lewis went overland from the Missouri to the Marias to further explore that stream. He was threatened by hostile Indians and after a battle was forced to return to Great Falls before he came

anywhere near the Marias pass afterward used by the Great Northern railway. Clark, with the other party, crossed Gibbons Pass down the Big Hole and the Jefferson and up the Gallatin to cross a divide to the Yellowstone as the Northern Pacific does. The trip down the Yellowstone was easy. Clark sent Ordway with a small party down the Missouri and he joined Lewis at Great Falls; they both caught up with Clark below the mouth of the Yellowstone and all arrived at St. Louis September 23, 1806. They made the return trip in about six months.

Lewis and Clark failed to find a practicable route for water communication from the Mississippi basin to the Pacific Ocean, on the contrary they proved that no such feasible route existed. They found that the upper Missouri was not navigable in a commercial sense. They proved that the sources of both the Missouri and the Yellowstone were too far from the Columbia and the intervening territory too rough to permit any kind of commercial communication. The idea of a Northwest water passage was abandoned. The Platte River valley became the principal overland route. Not until 1883 or later did the railroads build from the Missouri to the Columbia north of Lake Pend Oreille.

The Northern Pacific Railroad.

The main line of the Northern Pacific as it was constructed in 1883, ascends the Yellowstone river, crosses the divide to the Gallatin and down the Gallatin to the Missouri; it then descends the Missouri for about seventy miles to Helena in a northerly direction. It crosses the Continental divide at Mullan pass and thence down the Little Blackfoot, Hell Gate and Missoula to Clarks Fork; it follows Clarks Fork all the way to Lake Pend Oreille and avoids any crossing of the Bitter Root mountains.

The Northern Pacific, chartered July 2, 1864, commenced construction in 1869 and had been completed from Duluth, Minnesota, to Bismarck, N. D., 450 miles, in 1873. It failed and a receiver was appointed August 12, 1875. At that time farm land was selling at $3.60 per acre in Minnesota and North Dakota and $2.60 per acre in Montana. Henry Villard, repre-

senting Dutch bond holders, gained control in 1881 and completed construction from Duluth to Tacoma, Wash., in 1883. Within two years Villard built more than 2,000 miles of railroad. The east and west sections were connected at or near Garrison, Montana, on September 8, 1883. Villard was distressed that a commercial telegraphers' strike prevented sending the spike driving story to eastern cities and Wall Street. Villard appears to have been more efficient at pushing the construction than he was in watching the costs being incurred, so another receivership came soon after the road was completed.

The Helena and Jefferson County Railroad, extending from Jefferson Junction (Prickly Pear Junction) five miles east of Helena to Wickes, Montana, was completed in December 1883. This was a branch of the Northern Pacific up Prickly Pear Creek, through Montana City, Clancy and Alhambra to Jefferson City. The Montana Central Railway, now a part of the Great Northern, was completed from Great Falls to Helena in 1887 and from Helena to Butte in 1888; this line crosses the continental divide at Elk Park Pass a few miles east of Butte. The Montana Central ran along Prickly Pear Creek from East Helena to Jefferson side by side with the H. & J. C. which was abandoned a few years later. At that time the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern were not controlled by the same interests. I can say as a fact that I walked from time to time every foot of the way between Helena and Butte along the Montana Central before I was eighteen years of age.

CHAPTER III

Living Along the Northern Pacific

Franklin Pierce Marshall began service with the Northern Pacific as night operator at Billings, Montana, before the road was completed. He moved along from place to place as the construction crews proceeded with the ballasting. He and his family lived on the railroad, literally beside the rails, for the next seven years. My first remembered event is a dim picture of the funeral of my brother Max at Bozeman, Mont. We had been playing in the back yard near an irrigation ditch. I came home alone. Mother started searching for Max. He was found in the ditch dead from drowning, but there was a bruise on his forehead that might have been caused by a thrown stone. The water had been turned into the ditch shortly before he was found. Mother believed that Max had been struck by a stone thrown by older boys; that he was stunned and fell into the ditch before the water flowed in it.

Father worked westward as the railroad was being made ready for operation, at Timberline, Belgrade Gravel Pit, Bozeman, Gallatin, Toston, and Prickly Pear Junction. We lived in the station buildings and section houses where living quarters of a sort had been provided. About five years passed from Billings to Prickly Pear. I remember the clicking of the telegraph instruments and the humming of the wires on frosty windy nights, the freight trains stopping to unload freight or set off a car, Father copying messages or train orders and the conversation of the train crews and other employes.

At telegraph and train order stations there was a train order signal, operated by a lever at the hand of the operator inside the office; a red board turned at right angles to the track for stop, and parallel with the track for proceed, or no orders. Atop the signal was a spindle on which was placed an oil burning lamp with red and green lenses for night signals. A long pole with a hook at the end was used to engage the

bail of the lamp and lower it to fill and clean and replace it on the spindle.

The signal lamp pole stood leaning against the building always ready for use. One time I used it with intent to exterminate a neighbor boy. He had insulted me by throwing wheat in my lunch as we sat on the grain in a small granary near the little school house. (I can not remember anything about attending school there.) Later the same day this boy made the mistake of coming to the station and going under the platform and finally parking himself directly under a knot hole. I would have used the sharp hook end of the pole but only the smooth handle end would go through the knot hole; thus the boy's life was saved although he ran home howling.

Father was promoted from operator to station agent at Gallatin. That was a busy station serving a growing farming community in the Gallatin Valley. At Toston there was a smelter; ore was shipped in and concentrates were shipped out. The ore was first piled in the open and burned to remove the sulphur before processing. This produced very offensive and unhealthful smoke.

From four years of age I watched and listened to what was said and done at the railroad stations. There was conversation, not always too polite, when trains stopped or other employes came along. The imperfections of the management ranked high among the subjects discussed. It seemed that the Division Superintendent was incompetent and there was nobody over him that knew how to run the railroad either. One thing was certain; the Division Superintendent had a hard job and needed more loyal support than he was getting.

There were very few, if any, public schools or churches at the places where we lived. We were necessarily taught at home, chiefly by Mother, to read, write and cipher. The children began as soon as they could talk to learn the letters of the alphabet and put them together into simple words, to read from school books and very soon from other books and papers available. Older children helped to teach the younger ones. They could all read and write and cipher before they went to school. It was highly important for these youngsters to be able to read the markings on locomotives and cars. If old 324 pulled

the local freight east bound on Monday it could be expected to pass west bound on Tuesday. If not, why not? The station agent's office was full of blank forms that had to be filled out as per instructions for every transaction and it was fun to purloin some of these and fill them with imaginary business. There was much reading matter in these forms.

Those who built the Northern Pacific and other granger railroads in virgin territory faced a staggering problem of organization in putting them to work as public service agencies. Experienced men were drawn from other railroads and sent out with raw recruits to man the trains and stations there to represent the railroad. The top management wisely did two things in advance; they wrote manuals and books of rules patterned on existing practices of other railroads and they devised printed blank forms for reporting every kind of event or transaction. Instructions in small type were printed on them. It was said that every communication had to be on a prescribed form; any letter not on a form would probably be referred to the police department. The newly appointed agent at Gallatin could read the instructions printed on the forms, the manual, the tariffs naming rates for freight and tickets (simpler then than now) and begin to serve the public. Luckily the public, already clamoring to be served, was even less informed than the station agent and had no reason to doubt the information he gave out with an air of finality.

The "Book of Rules" governing the operation of trains was of basic importance. There were no automatic signals; trains could be operated safely by time table and train orders if all concerned obeyed the rules. Unfortunately some of the men engaged in train operation had individual ideas which they thought were superior to the letter of the law as prescribed in the rule book. It was said by some that it would be impossible to operate a train efficiently and comply with all the rules. This was highly dangerous because other employes involved could not know what these experts were going to do. When the inevitable wreck occurred the men involved would be fired or leave in expectation. Those fired on the Union Pacific would move over to the Northern Pacific and those fired on the Northern Pacific would go to the more recently

constructed Great Northern. Finally some of them might return to another division of the railroad from which they were first fired.

At an early age I knew that the railroad was not being run according to the rule book. Forms were not filled out in line with the instructions and maybe not strictly in line with the facts. Better discipline would mean a better railroad. I sympathized with the Division Superintendent. These observations are written in retrospect and in the light of greater knowledge of such things. What I remember is a feeling of distress and unhappiness about the disorder and disaster caused by careless and even willful disobedience. My feelings about this were deeply ingrained by experience as an eyewitness of disaster.

My memory does not reach to many details of residence at the stations along the line from Billings to Prickly Pear. In the early part of this period father must have served for a time at Jefferson on the Prickly Pear Branch, for there my brother Larrie was born in 1884. We lived in camp cars on a siding and I remember falling out of an end door and striking the back of my head on a cross tie; for a long time there was a lump on the back of my skull.

While we lived at Toston my cousin Maud Hutchinson visited us there and I have a photograph of her with Larrie and me taken aboard the Haynes Palace studio car, branch studio in the National Park operating out of Fargo, D. T. (Dakota Territory).

This studio car advertised "Will visit all railroad towns in the Northwest." A few years later Larrie and I had our photograph taken at J. R. Ball & Son in Helena, Montana. This was done while we lived at Prickly Pear Junction.

A telegraph operator named Dillenbeck came out to Montana to either get well or die of pulmonary consumption; he drew an assignment at a desert station where a barrel of whiskey had been forgotten unclaimed in the freight house. He got at the whiskey with a gimlet and he was cured long before the whiskey was consumed. The train crews would wake him up when necessary to communicate with the dispatcher.

There was a conductor on the through passenger train run named Red Winston, good looking, always well uniformed, neat as a pin; had a lantern with a gold plated top. Winston was fired and when I asked Father why he was fired the answer was, "He stole a dining car." Of course I knew this meant that Winston did not divide fairly with the Company the money he collected from passengers; people did not bother to buy tickets and the conductors collected much cash.

I attended school for the first time at East Helena School about a half mile from the section house at Prickly Pear Jct. Here were all ages from 6 to 16. At the age of 9 my education from home teaching, home reading and helping to run the railroad had advanced beyond the average of that school. At a spelling match all pupils, all grades, stood up around the walls and spelled in turn; the hero of this story was the last one standing. There was some luck in this of course.

Prickly Pear Junction

We arrived here in 1888 and lived in the section house. Prickly Pear Creek rises in Jefferson County and flows north and east to the Missouri River about 15 miles east of Helena. The City of Helena sits at the east toe of the Continental Divide at the outlet of Last Chance Gulch where gold was discovered in 1864. The Northern Pacific crosses Prickly Pear Creek five miles east of Helena. It is said that the first train leaving Helena for the East, in 1883, carried one million pounds of silver bullion. The mining had changed from gold to silver. Helena was not a thriving business center when I first saw it in 1889.

The Northern Pacific branch line was in operation up Prickly Pear Creek in Jefferson County and over a shoo-fly to Boulder, Montana, when we moved to Prickly Pear Jct. Here the main line runs due east and west and the branch due south from the junction. The west leg of the wye connected with the main line about 100 yards east of the pile trestle over Prickly Pear Creek; the east leg of the wye connected with the main line about 400 yards east of the west wye switch. The section house stood in the center of this wye facing the main track; the back door in line with the Branch

to the south. There was plenty of room for outhouses and storage sheds within the area surrounded by the tracks.

Here at P. P. Jct. we had to board a gang of men employed by the railroad. It seems to have been more than a regular section gang, perhaps fifteen or twenty men. Father hired a Chinese cook who did all the cooking and dishwashing, including baking bread and pies. He had several large sharp butcher knives. When the kids got too nosy around the kitchen he would flourish a butcher knife in a threatening way toward their ears and noses. He turned out wonderful pies with rich brown crust. Mother asked him what he used to brown them so nicely and he said "Splinkel milk on top." "How do you do that?" she asked. "Me show," and he took a large mouthful of milk and "splinkeled" it through a couple of spaces between his front teeth, expertly and evenly on top of the unbaked pie.

The space within the wye was a fine place for an eight year old boy to watch operations of the railroad and keep in touch with things seen and heard. From this vantage point I witnessed two events that stamped indelible pictures on my mind.

About sundown on a spring evening a double header freight train westbound stopped clear of the west wye switch and backed the train into clear on the Boulder branch. This was a little out of the ordinary; there was not sufficient time to run to the freight yard at Helena before No. 2 through passenger train east bound for St. Paul was due to leave Helena. I was on the job at my observation post about midway between the section house and the west wye switch. There, an overturned packing case made a good seat envisioned as the site of the Superintendent's office. The double header came to rest with its caboose far up the branch and the lead engine clear of the main line switch. Everybody settled down to wait for No. 2 to pass. A hobo standing on the wooden bumper blocks between two box cars, to avoid being seen by the train crew, signalled me to be quiet and not expose him. As dusk was descending No. 2 came in sight, stopped at the East Helena station, less than a mile away, and then came on down the grade toward Prickly Pear bridge with the throttle wide open accelerating for the grade east of the junction. I got ready to

watch No. 2 pass on the main line. But, instead of going by, No. 2 headed in on the branch at full speed and there was a crash that shook the earth.

Steam spurted, hot water ran into the ditches, the engines were piled up in a twisted mass, men were killed and injured. The hobo, evidently sensing danger, had leaped from his perch between the cars, but too late; only his head and one arm hung out from the side of the two box cars jammed together so tight there was hardly room for a sheet of paper between them. It was still light enough for me to see his eyes and tongue protruding. Somebody had failed to close the main line switch after the freight train backed in. For a moment or two I was stunned, then turned and ran toward the house. To someone coming out I called "Somebody better tell the Superintendent about this quick." Probably it was Father who said "I can see the flagman high tailing up the track to the station and he will have the news on the wire in a few minutes." Late that night I was relieved of the job of clearing up the wreck.

A wild tale was told—that the lighted switch lamp was found setting undisturbed on the head block at the switch, not on top of the switch stand where it should have been placed at sundown. It was said that the person whose job it was to fill, light and place this lamp had tried to place it after the freight backed in and found he could not set it on the forks of the stand without showing red for the main line; this, for the simple reason that the switch was set for the branch. He became confused and set the light down on the head block shortly before No. 2 came along. It was said that he departed and never returned. This tale seems incredible.

This was not the only hair-raising experience at P. P. Jct. Another summer day the Roadmaster John Hogan arranged to couple three empty flat cars behind the combination car of the branch mixed train as it left Helena Yard in the morning. When the train stopped at the Junction father and his gang climbed aboard the flats with their lunch boxes. I had to know what this business was about and father told me they were going to load rail along the line. The idea was to cut the flat cars off about ten or twelve miles up the branch and

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drop them down grade with the hand brakes, stopping at several places to load rail which for some reason had been left there when the line was constructed five or six years earlier. This sounded to me like something the Superintendent should know about but maybe he did and "Alls well that ends well." I was a little worried and kept a steady vigil from my office in the wye. About midday there came a roar like the wind in the trees and very soon those flat cars appeared coming down the branch about 70 or 80 miles an hour. They took the curve of the wye all right and as they passed me I saw an overcoat hanging to the top of the brake staff at a ninety degree angle, so great was the speed. They went on down to the main line west wye switch. This was the same switch where No. 2 headed into the double header but this time the switch was set for the main track, its normal position. Now, this was a stub switch, like all other switches in those days, the rails of the main track were moveable sideways to line up with the stub ends of the rails in either diverging track. If this had been a modern point switch the flat cars would have entered the main track and might have stopped on the up grade beyond before colliding with another train. But with the stub switch the flat cars ran off the stub ends on to the ties, continued for about 100 yards to the wooden deck pile trestle over Prickly Pear Creek, cleared the deck from the stringers and piled up in the creek. Many of the rails which had been loaded before the cars got away continued at full speed after the cars stopped and drove themselves into the ground on the west bank. I was the first, in fact the only, eye witness at the Junction. As I ran toward the bridge to get a better look I saw the agent at the East Helena station burst out onto the platform and then quickly disappear within; he could see from the station that there was no track on the bridge. By the time Hogan and Marshall had walked wearily in to the Junction in search of their flat cars and rails, the wrecking crew and all the top brass from Helena was on the scene and they had the opportunity to make an oral report. They said that the hand brakes on one car were defective when they started, then a brake chain broke on another car and finally a pin dropped out of the third car's brake chain while they

were moving. By the time they discovered they had no brakes at all the cars were out of control. Nobody was hurt in this affair. Perhaps a severe tongue lashing was administered. I know that both Hogan and Marshall were there for a time after this event. It should be said that very few cars were equipped with air brakes in 1889 and it was most important to keep hand brakes in perfect condition at all times. These and other events of 1888 and 1889 planted in my conscience the feeling that there was room in the railroad business for those who would find methods and people to run it better.

We lived at P. P. Jct. until sometime in 1890. My brother Van was born at East Helena, I think in the section house at the junction on March 29, 1890. My sister Bertha was born at Gallatin August 13, 1886. Father was employed in the Maintenance Department at P. P. Jct., but I remember that he was for a time a brakeman on the Boulder Branch mixed train. While he was so employed the train crashed through a high wooden trestle somewhere on the mountain between Jefferson and Boulder; the whole train sank down through the wooden structure from deck to deck until it rested firmly atop the mass of broken timbers and not a person on the train was scratched; luckily the timber did not ignite from the locomotive fire box. A temporary track was constructed and the locomotive was hauled out with block and tackle. Later this shoo-fly line was abandoned and the Northern Pacific used the line of the Great Northern through the Wickes tunnel until the entire Boulder branch was abandoned. By some stroke of fortune Father was made a roadmaster on the Boulder branch and we moved to a rented house in Boulder in 1890 or 1891.

I remember going to school in Boulder and taking part in some kind of dramatic program in which I wore a long robe as a judge. I became the agent for a personal calling card concern in Scio, Ohio. The whole school had an insane desire for those decorated printed or engraved cards, some of them with elaborate flowered flaps. The principal banned sales promotion during school hours and mentioned my agency by name in his oral admonition to the whole school. His daughter had the first and most popular agency.

Ross Max
Rock Island, Illinois, 1882

Ross
Helena, Montana, 1884

MAUD HUTCHINSON

ROSS LARRIE

Toston, Montana, 1887

Ross Larrie

Helena, Montana, 1889

CHAPTER IV

We Move to Judith Basin

For reasons not known to me Father left the railroad business and engaged temporarily in mining and later in farming. The mining venture consisted of sinking a shaft some thirty or forty feet deep on a silver lode that looked good at the outcrop but pinched out entirely at the bottom of the shaft. My memory fails to record where that mine was located or who was father's partner. There were two families, ours and another about the same size. We camped in a beautiful spot near a small stream of clear and pure water perhaps half a mile from the spot where the shaft was being sunk with a makeshift windlass. That was hard back-breaking work carried on in the hope of finding a large amount of silver. Probably the grubstake, if any, pinched out about the same time that the silver lode did in the shaft. So far from a railroad, at that time, a silver mine would have been of doubtful value.

There were two families to feed and winter would be coming; so, the tents and bedding and children were loaded in the two Studebaker wagons and we pulled out of there leaving the windlass rig over the shaft. The locality was infested with rattlesnakes. Mother shot one with a rifle as it lay coiled on a flat rock near the creek. One hot morning I was piloting several of the children across the bench to a small settlement in the next valley for some reason I can't recall; we killed five or six rattlers with sticks and stones along the trail before the kids, some of them barefoot, could pass in safety.

From this summer mining camp, or from Boulder, our family set out for the Judith Basin, where Uncle John, Grandmother Hannah and Uncle Sandy Baker were farming on Cottonwood Creek. It may be that Sandy Baker had left his farm for a time and lived in Boulder. When we arrived on Cottonwood Creek we lived in the Baker's log cabin farmhouse about a mile down the creek from Uncle John's place.

Where we obtained horses and wagons for transportation some 150 or 200 miles from Boulder to Cottonwood Creek is another mystery. Uncle John had two teams of horses and owned all the farm implements and equipment that were used by him and us during our time there. They raised potatoes, vegetables, a few hogs, cattle and chickens. They harvested some oats and wheat and hay was put up to feed the cattle through the winter. Cash money was scarce because of the limited market for farm produce 200 miles from a railroad and only primitive highways.

My memory of life in the Judith Basin includes working on the farm, learning to milk a cow, riding horseback to hunt stray cattle in the hills along the creek, the old gray mare stepping on my bare foot (she was not steel shod) and going barefoot through the frost on the grass to do morning milking or other chores. I rode the horse to pull the long rope over the tackle block to drag hay in fork fulls up on the stack. Trout fishing in Cottonwood Creek was good at times.

One summer day Father and Uncle John went up the creek about ten miles to cut some long straight pine poles for the tripod used in the hay stacking operation and I was given leave to go with them. We left home in the afternoon and drove up to the timber line on the mountain where we camped for the night and slept out of doors on the ground. I did not sleep very well for thinking about bears and timber wolves. As we were about to move toward the timber the next morning a load of neighbors with women and children came along with buckets and baskets to pick huckleberries. They asked me to join them. Father told me where to meet him on the way out; to be there about noon and wait for him. Well, berries were very scarce and the pickers were quickly discouraged. They decided to pull out and go home and were back on the road ready to start not later than nine or ten o'clock. They urged me to go with them but that I would not do as Father would be looking for me at the rendezvous. I might try to find the place where the men were working in the timber but there was a fork in the road and I could not tell which way they had gone. Not having any time piece and not good at judging time by the sun I walked up and down the trail, a half mile either way, listening for the sound of the wagon

coming down the trail with the poles. There was nothing but scenery and silence all around me and this went on for hours. Under these conditions, tired, hungry and lonesome, an hour seems like an eternity and I began to distrust my sound judgment that the men could not have passed on the way home before I came to the meeting place, and finally gave up and started walking down the trail toward home and kept on going. At the first farmhouse I asked if they had seen the Marshall men going home; no, they had seen the berry pickers pass some time ago but not the Marshall men. I asked them to tell Father and Uncle that I was ahead of them on the way home. When Father and Uncle came to the meeting place they assumed that I had gone home with the berry pickers but they inquired at the first farmhouse and learned that I was walking. I got home long before the men did; it was nearly sundown when they came dragging their long tripod poles. I had picked about a half pint of huckleberries in the tin bucket which I carried with me all the way home; it was a warm day and the berries became soft and slimy rattling around in the pail. The scent emanating from the pail was not unpleasant at first but as it became stronger it began to disagree with my empty stomach. This was endured for several miles until I dumped the berries and washed the pail in the creek. I could not eat huckleberries or blueberries for several years.

There seems to have been few outstanding incidents that impressed themselves on my memory while we lived in the Baker's cabin. We did not go to school in the winter but during the summer of 1892 there was a small log cabin schoolhouse about two miles up the creek. Several children from the farms; probably some of Uncle John's boys, some of the Mahaney kids, probably my brother Larrie, walked to attend school there. I was among the older, perhaps the oldest pupil, and already had more book learning than was being offered. The result was that I became a loafer and trouble maker and a pain in the neck for the young lady school teacher.

Uncle John could play the violin very well. He played some very good music by note, not by ear. He and Sandy Baker and Charley Mahaney fiddled for dances and they were good. Sandy could call for square dances with great skill and

enthusiasm. Bert Mahaney, son of Charley, had been taking music lessons and was able to play difficult music on first reading. He seemed to have a natural talent and his parents were very proud of his accomplishments. I think he was about three years older than I. My folks encouraged me to take up the study of music on the violin. Mother taught me fundamentals of reading music and somewhere we found a violin on which I could practice. I learned to play the Irish Washerwoman and Turkey in the Straw and such popular dance selections from written music; I never could have learned to play by ear. I had a pretty good start by the time I left the Judith Basin and might have become a pretty good violinist if I had continued to study and practice. This study was interrupted as will appear from events hereinafter related.

The Bakers evidently returned to the farm in 1892. Our family lived in a run-down rented house in the little town of Cottonwood during the winter of 1892-1893. This town was about four miles down the creek from John Marshall's farm; the road from Lewistown to White Sulphur Springs crossed the creek at that point. This was a tough winter for us but we were not discouraged. There was a schoolhouse within a quarter mile from where we lived. I was able to get the job of janitor at the school; sweeping out and cleaning up after school and building a fire in the big wood stove in the morning before school. I had to get there early to warm up the big schoolroom enough to begin at nine o'clock. I was paid something for this but certainly not very much. We had a good teacher, female, and I certainly got some good out of going to school there. But Cottonwood was no place for us. Really we were railroad men.

CHAPTER V

Migration to Palouse Valley, Washington

Depression had begun to spread over the Western World in 1890. Times were hard in the Judith Basin by 1892. Farming there was not profitable even in good times so far away from markets. A man with a family and without a farm had no reason to stay there. Even John Smiley who owned a small but well watered farm seems to have turned his eyes toward greener pastures farther west but nearer markets. Be that as it may the two brothers Frank and John set out with wives and children, two covered wagons and a chuck wagon and three teams of horses, including two old white mares. This was in the summer of 1893. Their intended destination was the Palouse Country, south of Spokane, Washington, where the wheat grew big and high, without irrigation, and there was a railroad near by. That is where they arrived that fall before very much of the wheat had been harvested. It was standing in the fields, or in the shock because the market price was hardly enough to pay for harvesting and shipping. The depression and panic of 1893 was in full effect.

At Cottonwood my sister Ruby Marshall was born May 23, 1893. She was a sickly child and died at the age of five months despite the valiant efforts of a devoted mother to find a food formula or anything that she could digest. No doubt the departure from Cottonwood was delayed for a time to give this child time to gain strength. Economic conditions and dwindling cash resources must have compelled starting in late June or early July. There was the need for getting over the Rocky Mountains before cold weather came.

Early one morning the caravan started, John driving the lead team and acting as pilot, Frank driving the second team, and I was driving the old mares hitched to the chuck wagon. John had three boys, Dana, Frank and John, ages probably 8, 6 and 3, and his wife Margaret who was lame and wore a brace on one leg. Frank had five children, Ross 13, Larrie 9,

Bertha 7, Van 3 and the baby Ruby. All of their possessions were carried in the three vehicles. John probably left some farm implements and livestock with Sandy Baker but he did not sell his farm. They probably had a small amount of cash money which they figured would carry them through to the promised land. Prices were low, the weather was mild and there were game and fish along the route.

Looking at the modern map of Fergus County one can see Cottonwood Creek rising in the mountains south of Lewistown and running in a northwesterly direction toward the Judith River. There was much discussion of the best route to Spokane but there was no doubt that the first step was to go southwest to the Missouri River and cross it before it turns northeast through the Rocky Mountain Gate. There was a bridge across the river at Toston or Townsend. Our caravan turned southward from Cottonwood, crossed Beaver Creek and headed for White Sulphur Springs, probably 80 miles as the crow flies southwest of Lewistown, but farther by the road or trail through Judith Gap. Our speed was probably 3 to 5 miles an hour, depending on the condition of the road, the stamina of the horses, the health of the children; the daily distance was also dependent on the location of streams, water, grass and camping places. It was good judgment to take it easy and preserve the feet of the horses and the morale of the humans. We expected to be on the road six weeks to two months.

I should have made a record of this journey. At one time years ago I could have described the trip in considerable detail but now after sixty years only the outstanding features remain sufficiently clear for narrative. If the memory is faulty we may stray away from the facts but not intentionally.

White Sulphur Springs, the present county seat of Meagher County, population 1015 in 1950, was reached 8 or 10 days after leaving Cottonwood Creek. We camped about two miles from the town for several days while the sick baby was taken to the doctor and a formula obtained for using condensed milk. Fresh milk could not be obtained with any regularity. The camp site was very dry and dusty, the weather was hot and we were all glad to be moving again. A day or two later we camped on the headwaters of Smith River, where a beautiful

clear stream ran through a grassy valley. The long grass seemed to hide the stream although it was several feet wide and rather deep for a mountain brook. It was swarming with trout and although there were many grasshoppers to be found close by these trout would snap at a grasshopper on a hook cast over the grassy bank if the caster kept out of sight. A nice catch of good sized trout was a welcome change in the menu.

The road from White Sulphur to the Missouri River passed down Sixteen Mile Canyon through the Big Belt Mountains and that was rough going, threatening tires, axles and horses' feet but it was traversed safely and we camped beside the fast flowing Missouri, probably 135 miles from our starting point. We were then about twenty miles from Three Forks, the source of the Missouri. From there we turned down the river and crossed it at Toston where we camped for a day washing and bathing. At that time and place the water was clear and clean unlike the Muddy Missouri. The present highway from White Sulphur runs directly to Townsend, a distance of 46 miles, and there connects with highway U. S. 10 which crosses the river at that point and runs in a northwesterly direction to Helena, 34 miles. In 1893 the only trail from White Sulphur to the river was, I believe, the one down Sixteen Mile.

From the river crossing we followed the Northern Pacific and continued along near it for several weeks. On the way to Helena we pased East Helena where our family had lived for several years. We camped for a few days near Helena to get further medical attention for the baby. The road over the Continental Divide passed near Skyline, about two miles from the east portal of the Northern Pacific Mullan Tunnel, at elevation about 6000 feet. Here in the section house, at one time several years earlier, we had visited William Hutchinson and family; his wife was Margaret Smith, my mother's sister, Aunt Mag to us. Crossing the divide, near the Mullan Tunnel, at Elliston, the route was down the little Blackfoot, the Hell Gate, the Missoula and Clarks Fork of the Columbia River. Especially, was the passage through the Hell Gate impressive. At times it seemed the narrow space between high cliffs on both sides, the rushing river, the road along the toe of the

mountain or across small clearings was the most lonesome place in the world and one of the most beautiful. Then a Northern Pacific train would come speeding down or climbing more slowly up the canyon chasing away the silence and the lonesome blues.

In a few days we came to Drummond, Mont. where the Hutchinson clan were then living in the section house. It was a large and roomy establishment and we were welcome to stay a few days to wash up and rest and visit with the cousins. There the valley is wider and more fertile. The Phillipsburg Branch of the Northern Pacific there joins the main line. Baby Ruth was weaker and it was decided that she could not travel farther in the wagon. The Hutchinsons invited Mother to stay with them until she could proceed by train to Spokane. Accordingly, Mother, Bertha, Van and Ruby remained while Frank and Larrie and I went on with the John Marshall family to Missoula. After Missoula we proceeded down the Clarks Fork to St. Regis and then up the St. Regis.

At the mouth of St. Regis River, Clarks Fork turns sharply to the north then again northwest to Lake Pend Oreille. We ascended the St. Regis, northwesterly, to its source in the Coeur d' Alene Mountains, on the boundary line between Montana and Idaho. We passed through Wallace, Idaho, down to Lake Coeur d' Alene. The road up the St. Regis was no more than a trail, sometimes obstructed by slides or fallen trees. In some places the road had been washed out by high water and we were compelled to drive on the ties of the railroad track for as much as half a mile or more. There was only one train a day on that branch line in 1893 and I suppose Father was reasonably certain that it would not find us on the track with three wagons and no way to get off until we could reach the next road crossing. This was probably the roughest section of the whole trip and it was a great relief to come down on the shore of Lake Coeur d' Alene. I remember that we came into Coeur d' Alene City at the northern end of the lake after several miles on a smooth road with the lake on our left or west side. Today Highway U. S. 10 crosses Idaho from the Montana line, skirts the north end of the Lake, through Coeur d' Alene City, and thence to Spokane. Highway 95 runs south along the east side of the

lake and crosses the state line in to Washington, directly into the Palouse Valley, probably 20 miles south of Tekoa, our destination. I can not remember the route we took from Coeur d' Alene to Tekoa.

We arrived in the town of Tekoa, population less than 1000, in August or September 1893. We found two small low rent houses into which we moved our scant belongings and picked up some second-hand furniture. Mother came on by train with the small children. All of the children who were old enough started to school. The schoolhouse was a substantial large building for all grades situated atop the hill, not far from where we lived. Father and Uncle John started at once to find employment. Two men and two teams of horses could earn no more than bare subsistence in the work of harvesting the wheat crop. They had to take produce and groceries in exchange for their service. The depression was at its depth. Nothing but gloom was found in business circles. Hear the Harvard University Encyclopedia of World History:

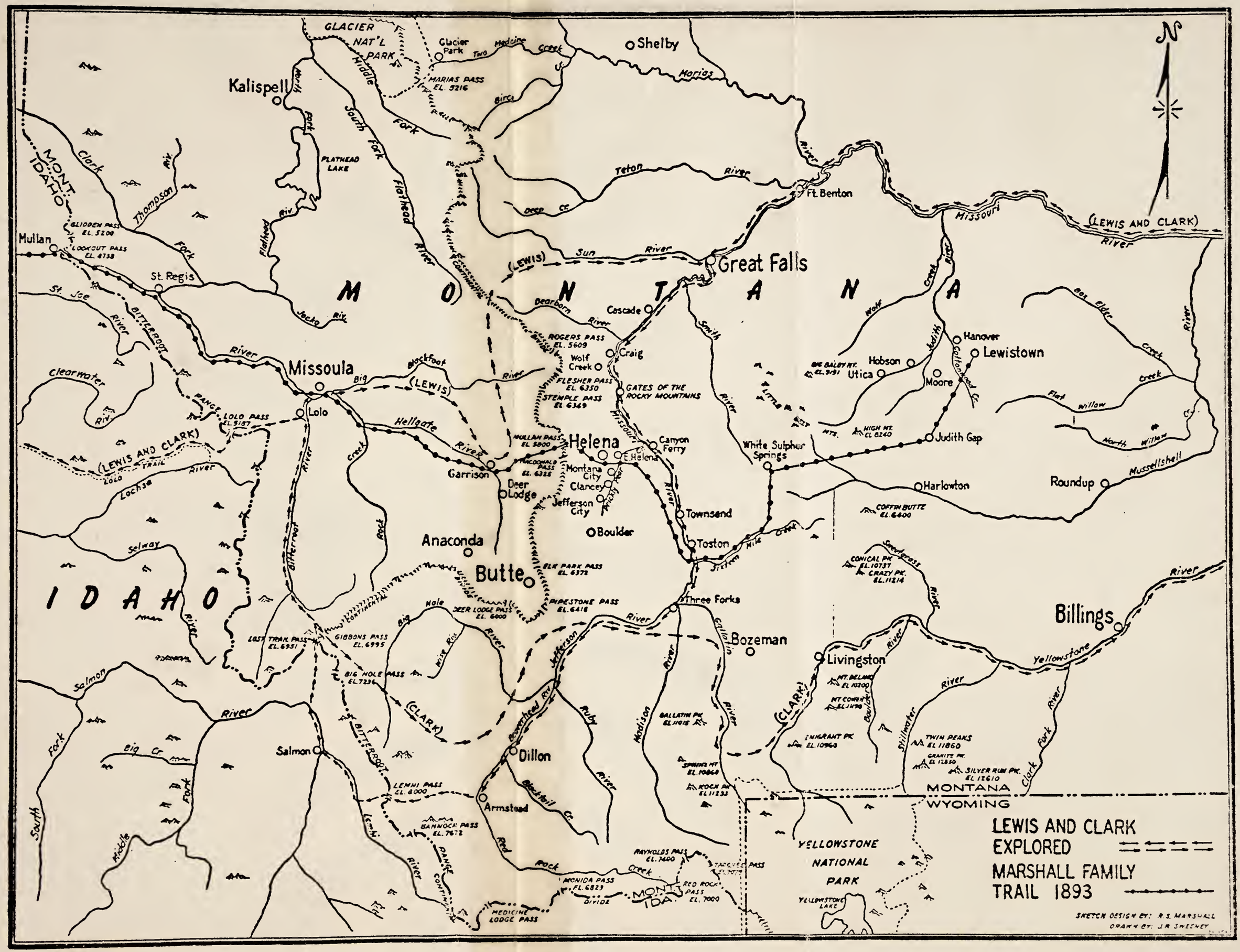
> Panic of 1893—Depression had begun to spread over the Western World in 1890. The banking house of Baring collapsed account unfortunate investments in Argentina. British investors in American securities began to sell, moving gold out of this country. Over-expansion in rails due to import of British and German capital created a boom which collapsed when the railroads were unable to meet their charges. Dissipation of the Treasury surplus through reckless pension legislation and the tariff act of 1890 were contributing factors. President Cleveland thought there was just one cause of the panic; the world wide fear of our inability to maintain a gold standard was draining off the supply of gold. For this fear, he alleged, the Silver Purchase Act was responsible. He asked Congress to repeal that act and that was done October 30, 1893. In 1896 William McKinley, running on a single gold standard platform, was elected over free silver Bryan 271-176. On February 15, 1898 the battleship Maine was blown up in Havana Harbor. McKinley yielded to the war clamor despite the fact that Spain agreed to every condition laid down respecting Cuba.

It is interesting in retrospect to note that McKinley received only 47 electoral votes in excess of a bare majority. In Montana the folks we knew were in favor of free trade and

the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1. Probably this platform was supported generally in the Western States. Certainly we knew that something was wrong with the economy in 1893.

About Thanksgiving time, 1893, Ruby passed away and was buried there in Tekoa. We were able to get through the mild winter weather of that climate without discomfort. Meanwhile Father had been writing to some of his railroad friends in Montana and about January 1894 he was offered the position of section foreman, on the Montana Central (Great Northern Ry.) at Montana City, ten miles from Helena by highway, six miles from East Helena (P. P. Jct.). On the trip from Cottonwood Creek to Tekoa we had traveled about 525 miles, much of the way over rough roads, with frequent stops for rest, and I estimate the time en-route was about two months. We lived in Tekoa not more than four or five months.

N
MONT.
IDAHO
Ft. Benton
Missouri
(LEWIS AND CLARK)
River
Mullan
St. Joe
Wolf
Creek
Judith
Hanover
Lewistown
Cottonwood Cr.
Box Elder
Creek
Hobson
Utica
Moore
Flat
Willow
Creek
North
Willow
Cr.
Judith Gap
Musselshell
Harlowton
Roundup
COFFIN BUTTE
EL. 6400
Sweetgrass
CONICAL PK
EL. 10737
CRAZY PK.
EL. 11214
River
Billings
Yellowstone
Livingston
Boulder
River
Stillwater
River
Clark
Fork
River
TWIN PEAKS
EL. 11860
GRANITE PK
EL. 11850
SILVER RUN PK.
EL. 12610
MONTANA
WYOMING
South
Fork
ELLOWSTONE
NATIONAL
PARK
LEWIS AND CLARK
EXPLORED
MARSHALL FAMILY
TRAIL 1893
SKETCH DESIGN BY: R.S. MARSHALL
DRAWN BY: J.R. SWEENEY


GLACIER NAT'L PARK
Glacier Park
Two Medicine Creek
MARIAS PASS EL. 5216
Shelby
Marias
Kalispell
North Fork
Middle Fork
South Fork
Flathead River
FLATHEAD LAKE
Flathead Riv.
MONT.
IDAHO
Clark Fork
Thompson Riv.
GLIDDEN PASS EL. 5200
LOOKOUT PASS EL. 4738
Mullan
St. Regis
St. Joe River
BITTERROOT RANGE
Jocko Riv.
Teton River
Deep Cr.
Ft. Benton
Missouri River
(LEWIS AND CLARK)
(LEWIS) Sun River
Great Falls
M O N T A N A
Dearborn River
Cascade
ROGERS PASS EL. 5609
Craig
Wolf Creek
FLESHER PASS EL. 6350
STEMPLE PASS EL. 6349
GATES OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS
Missouri
Smith River
Little Belt Mts.
BIG BALDY MT. EL. 3491
Utica
Hobson
Moore
Hanover
Lewistown
Judith
Gallatin Co.
Wolf Creek
Box Elder Creek
Flat Willow Creek
North Willow Cr.
HIGH MT. EL. 8240
Judith Gap
White Sulphur Springs
Harlowton
Roundup
Musselshell
Missoula
Big Blackfoot River
(LEWIS)
Clearwater Riv.
LOLO PASS EL. 5157
Lolo
(LEWIS AND CLARK) TRAIL
Lochsa River
Hellgate River
MULLAN PASS EL. 5900
MACDONALD PASS EL. 6325
Helena
E. Helena
Canyon Ferry
Garrison
Deer Lodge
Montana City
Clancey
Jefferson City
Boulder
Townsend
Toston
Hilt Creek
Jefferson River
Selway
Bitterroot
Rock Creek
Anaconda
Butte
ELK PARK PASS EL. 6372
PIPESTONE PASS EL. 6418
DEER LODGE PASS EL. 6000
Big Hole River
Wise Riv.
Three Forks
Gallatin River
Bozeman
Madison River
COFFIN BUTTE EL. 6400
CONICAL PK EL. 10737
CRAZY PK. EL. 11214
Sweetgrass River
Billings
Yellowstone River
Livingston
MT. DELANO EL. 10300
MT. COWEN EL. 11498
Boulder River
Stillwater River
Clark Fork River
(CLARK)
GALLATIN PK EL. 11015
EMIGRANT PK EL. 10960
TWIN PEAKS EL. 11860
GRANITE PK. EL. 12850
SILVER RUN PK. EL. 12610
SPHINX MT EL. 10860
ROCH PK EL. 11233
MONTANA
WYOMING
I D A H O
LOST TRAIL PASS EL. 6951
GIBBONS PASS EL. 6995
BIG HOLE PASS EL. 7236
Salmon River
Salmon
Big Cr.
South Fork
Middle Fork
Dillon
Beaverhead Riv.
Ruby River
Blacktail Cr.
Armstead
LEMHI PASS EL. 8000
BANNOCK PASS EL. 7672
Lemhi River
RANGE CONTINENTAL
Red Rock Creek
MONIDA PASS EL. 6823
MEDICINE LODGE PASS
DIVIDE
MONT.
IDA.
RAYNOLDS PASS EL. 7400
TAKINS PASS
RED ROCK PASS EL. 7000
YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK
YELLOWSTONE LAKE
LEWIS AND CLARK EXPLORED
MARSHALL FAMILY TRAIL 1893
SKETCH DESIGN BY: R. S. MARSHALL
DRAWN BY: J. R. SHECHET

CHAPTER VI

Return to Montana

As soon as Father could arrange for passes and a little cash money Mother and we children went by train to Montana City. There was a fairly good sized section house and nearby a large barn and some frame buildings that had been used as a stage station some years earlier. Nearly all of the men employed on the section were quartered in these old buildings, free of rent, so our family had the full use of the section house except when a telegraph operator was temporarily stationed there. There were no other buildings or neighbors within a mile of us. There was no school nearer than East Helena. Old placer diggings along Prickly Pear could be seen from our door yard—upturned rocks and gravel with no covering soil. We learned to scrape down to the bedrock and pan gravel for a few particles of gold but never enough to pay for the labor involved. Prickly Pear creek had been worked for gold about the time the rich strikes were found in Last Chance Gulch at Helena.

Along the creek there were large deposits of clean sharp white sand which was in demand for certain moulds for casting iron or steel articles. I wrote to Butte and got an order for a carload of this sand and Larrie and I managed to fill it. We had to clean off the soil and foreign matter carefully and dig out the sand down to bed rock, three or four feet in depth, and we had to be very careful not to get any dirt or rocks in it. We loaded the sand into a wagon with shovels, drove alongside the car on the siding, cleaned out the car thoroughly, and heaved the sand over the side of the car with shovels. To find and load twenty tons of sand in this way was quite a job for a couple of boys and I think we had some help in the evenings; the railroad was howling about the car being delayed. We got the job done, the sand was delivered to the foundry and we received a check together with praise for

the fine quality of the product. Another order came and we filled it the following year; this kind of sand was not easy to find.

At that time, summer of 1894, a contractor was working about two miles east of Montana City, widening the grade and changing the line of the railroad on my father's section. They were taking down rocks along the bluffs and placing them on the embankment next to the creek. Dynamite was being used to loosen the material for handling. There was some probability that rocks and earth would roll down during the night and block the track. So they needed a night watchman to patrol the track, about a mile in length, several times each night and flag trains if any obstruction should be found. This was a good job for a fourteen year old boy with a dog and so it came to me. I patrolled every night, seven days a week, for about six weeks for $1.50 per night, quite a bundle of money in 1894.

In the summer of 1894 my sister Mary Jane was born and I went to East Helena to bring the doctor in a spring wagon drawn by one horse. We got there in time and everything was fine. My brother John Irving was born in the same house about two years later but I was not at home at that time. While we lived at Montana City I went to school at East Helena and also at Boulder.

At East Helena I worked for Jerry Hayes, proprietor of the General Store, groceries, dry goods, shoes, cigars, tobacco and notions. If he did not have it he would send for it. I slept in the corner room at the rear of the second floor. My schedule—rise at 6:00 a. m., sweep out the store and build a fire in the stove if necessary, open up for business. The delivery man would come in about seven and remain until Jerry came to relieve him. I would go over to Jerry's home, milk the cow and take the milk in to the Hayes baby and Mrs. Hayes, a comely French girl, would give me my breakfast. Then I went to school. After school I went back to the store until time to milk the cow again. Worked in the store after supper until nine or ten and then to bed. This was a tough routine for a 15 year old but I was a tough boy. Saturday was a big day; we hauled freight from the railroad station and stored it

in the warehouse and granary. On Sunday the store was open nearly all day.

Going To School in Boulder.

I can not remember whether it was the winter of 1894-1895, or 1895-1896, that I went to school in East Helena; probably it was the latter and the earlier winter I lived with Uncle Peter B. Mills in Boulder. This Peter Mills was a cousin of Grandmother Hannah Abbey; he came to Montana at an early time and lived on a small ranch about three miles from Boulder. He never married and lived there alone doing all his own housekeeping, farming and stock raising. One evening every week he went into town to attend the lodge meeting of Independent Order of Good Templars. It was rumored that he was a reformed alcoholic. My routine at the Mills ranch was to help with the farm chores before breakfast. I slept in the big living-dining room-kitchen part of the cabin and I had to get up first and build the fire. Uncle Pete slept in the better furnished parlor-bedroom end of the log cabin. Breakfast was slap jacks and maybe a piece of salt pork. A favorite delicacy was brown beans stewed with salt pork, and baking powder bread, followed for a couple of days with fried left over brown beans and baking powder bread. This bread was baked in one piece in a rather large square cornered pan and then sliced clear across the pan from side to side. We seldom had eggs, or chicken (stewed). It was fine if I could shoot a rabbit on Saturday with the old muzzle-loading sixteen gauge cap and pin shot gun. After breakfast I was off to school in Boulder driving an old brindle pony hitched to the two-wheel cart. This cart had a box space under the seat in which were carried my school books and anything Uncle Pete wanted me to bring home from town. There was a place near the school to put up the pony for the day. In cold weather, when the swamp was frozen solid, I could walk straight across Muskrat Creek Valley to town about a mile and a half; this was tiresome coming home after school if the snow was deep. Uncle Pete believed in sobriety, hard work, thrift and moderation in all things including eating and drinking. I would not say he was stingy but he was close. He was not cross with me but he was stern. Every evening he required a brief report on

what I was learning at school and asked questions to test my knowledge of the subjects under study. He liked to mix in a little fun by asking such questions as "If buttermilk is six cents a quart how many cords of wood in a brush heap?" In his bedroom Uncle Pete had a collection of books, pamphlets and cartoons from Robert Ingersoll and associates exposing the follies of the Christian Religion. Some of the cartoons picturing scenes described in the Bible were ludicrous and somewhat obscene. Uncle Pete never mentioned these to me nor did he discuss religion in any way; I read these things when he was away at lodge. It was said, however, that he was an atheist.

My recollection of progress at school those two winters at Boulder and East Helena is almost negative. I did not have any troubles nor any honors that made an impression. I did not have any close friends or buddies in either school and do not remember going to any parties. I think the reason for this is that I did not live in either town and my family was not known in either, moreover I had work to do, especially in East Helena.

Our Gym at Montana City.

I lived at home in Montana City during a part of the summers in 1894-95 and 96. I remember exploring the rugged foothills in the country back of the Prickly Pear Valley, hunting rabbits and prairie chickens. Another thing I did almost daily and that was to exercise in the home-made gymnasium Larrie and I set up in the loft of the old stage barn. This was a magnificent place for such doings. The loft had a high hip roof with cross beams or braces nine or ten feet above the floor which were smooth boards in good condition. The room was large, at least 20 by 40, maybe 50, and there were several openings not windows, probably at one time covered by wooden doors. The place was fairly clean, airy and light; cool and pleasant during the hot summer days. We gathered a quantity of rope, some pick handles or maul handles, and set up a series of trapezes. Some of these were hung rather high to give a longer swing. Larrie and I spent hours on these bars learning to swing by the knees and sometimes by the feet and change from one trapeze to another in

the air. I could jump to grab a bar, pull myself up and go over the bar either forward or feet first. At sixteen I had well developed muscles although I was thin and weighed no more than 115 pounds. As a result of this training I was tough and wiry for many years. For example, I could hold a broom handle firmly in both hands and jump over it.

Business Problems.

While at school in East Helena Jerry Hayes built a new store house for grain, feed and groceries. It had a full basement with stone masonry walls and cement floor. The walls were probably 12 or 14 inches thick and 8 or 9 feet high and the building about 20 by 40 feet. My high marks at school in arithmetic raised the thought that Jerry should ask me to figure how much he owed the stone mason at the agreed price per cubic yard. I measured the walls carefully to the last inch and computed the cubic content; the end walls full outside measurement and the side walls from one end wall to the other, including the corners only once. When Jerry came to settle with the mason that gentleman would not accept my figures. Then old man Cauby, the chairman of the school board, was called to arbitrate. After reviewing my figures he said I should have known that the corners are counted twice because of the extra time and labor involved; that I should have used the outside measurement on both sides and ends. I thought it would be a good idea to make a note of the practice in the school textbooks. He said maybe the local rules varied but anyway one had to unlearn some of the things learned at school.

While I lived with Uncle Pete Mills he decided to sell a haystack to a neighbor and asked me to figure the number of tons of hay in the stack using a given number of pounds per cubic foot. So I took the tape measure and went to work. The stack was old and its contours irregular and it was some distance from the farmhouse. It was wider on one end and longer on one side than the opposite dimensions; it was higher in the middle than anywhere else. The slopes at sides and ends were not uniform. It was certain that the exact cubic content of that stack could not be found in a whole day of

measurements and calculations so it was necessary to use some assumptions with good judgment. Even so it was about three hours' work to decide the questions and make the measurements and computations. Finally I came up with an estimate of the number of tons in the stack and found Uncle Pete sitting in his easy chair.

"Where have you been? I thought you were going to tell me how many tons of hay in that stack?"

"Yes, sir, that's what I have been doing."

"Oh, I thought probably you had gone hunting and forgotten all about it. Perkins came over and offered me sixty dollars for the stack and I accepted it. By the way how many tons did you find?"

I gave him my figure.

"Well, according to that, if you are right, Perkins made a good offer, but that's pretty good hay and that stack is three years old, so it's all solid hay."

In the fall of 1895, when raspberries were ripe, Larrie and I went one morning on the hand car with the section gang to the outlet of Prickly Pear Canyon (where I had been night watchman) and then walked two miles to the Burns Ranch, in the valley, to pick raspberries. We found the berries ripe and luscious and spent the day picking on shares; we got a small share of what we picked as compensation for picking. In the late afternoon we started back with a load of berries to the mouth of the canyon. The men came along with the hand car but Dad was not with them; he had gone to East Helena on an errand and would come home later. So we loaded our berries and got on the car. I was standing in front of the forward pumping bar and Larrie was in between the bars on the right hand side, directly behind me. I was 15, he was 11. We figured we had plenty of time to make home, certainly enough to get around the curves in the canyon, before the evening passenger train was due at Montana City. We were all bending our backs pumping against the grade when we heard and then saw not more than 300 feet ahead the locomotive of an extra freight coming around the curve. The freight train was running down grade at 35 or 40 miles an hour, not working steam, and it had not sounded the whistle within our hearing. We all unloaded quickly; I instinctively jumped

to the right and landed on the side of the cut and then looked around for Larrie and he was right beside me digging into the earth to keep from sliding down toward the track. At that instant the engine struck the hand car and the air was full of tools, bars, wheels and flying splinters. The body of the car lodged and stuck on the pilot of the engine and it stopped a quarter mile down the track. We were in disgrace; a hand car carrying men without a foreman and two minors and not taking proper precautions to keep out of the way of trains. We had not seen a freight train at that time of day for a long time and were thinking only of the passenger train due there within a half hour. We walked home but we did not have any raspberries to carry. Dad got a new hand car and escaped discipline for the accident, probably because he was not there when it happened.

Clematis Vines.

An ad in the Helena Independent stated that the person named wished to acquire several clematis vines, be sure that sufficient roots are attached, deliver at the address given in Helena. We had learned that those straggling vines growing out of the placer tailings along the creek were clematis. So I set to work digging them up and trying to recover enough roots to satisfy the order. While the vines could be found running along over the stones and gravel seeking a place to climb, finding the roots was not so easy. I had to dig down through and between rocks and follow the vine to the place where some nourishment and moisture could be drawn from the original top soil covered by the waste from the placer mining. After many hours of toil I had gathered three or four very long but very thin clematis stocks with a few root tendrils. These I put in a gunny sack and the next morning started for Helena on foot. The distance was eight or nine miles across the bench; the time at least three hours. I found the man, a lawyer, in his office as advertised and offered my wares. He seemed to be in a state of shocked surprise as soon as he saw me. However he looked at the vines, said they were clematis, but doubted they had enough vigor to survive. The hot sun had evaporated what little moisture they contained in the first place. Then followed conversation about like this:

How old are you? Fifteen.

Where do you live? At Montana City, across the bench on Prickly Pear.

Yes; I know the place, I have been over that way hunting.

How did you get here? I walked over the bench.

Well, I doubt that these vines are any good for planting, you did not find enough roots and they have dried out since you dug them. But I'll take them and try them out.

Will you accept fifty cents? Yes, I will be glad to have it.

Whereupon he shook hands and said that it had been a pleasure to talk with me. I went away happy but never forgot the lesson. One must know that the product he seeks to sell is as good as any that can be found in the market.

CHAPTER VII

We Move to Anaconda

Some time in 1896 or early 1897 our family moved from Montana City to Anaconda where Father was section foreman on the Hill Section, the tracks that served the smelters of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. We lived in a small house not far from the railroad yards. I had several jobs with the railroad; the Butte Anaconda and Pacific R. R., which extended from Butte to Anaconda, about 25 miles, and was owned by the Copper Interests. This railroad carried copper ore from the mines at Butte to the smelters and refineries at Anaconda, the refined copper products to the other railroads at Butte, and a common carrier service, including passenger service. While employed as a section laborer I was assigned to paint the high board fence around the railroad terminal buildings; the boards were placed vertically, six or seven feet high, without cracks, and the paint was red. It was a tiresome job but I finished it single handed without offers from any of Tom Sawyer's friends. I was employed as a laborer on the main line section extending four or five miles toward Butte and as a laborer on an Extra Gang which was building some additional yard tracks for expansion of the smelters down in the flats below the town. The pay was $1.50 to $1.75 per day of ten hours, six days a week. If the Foreman on such works happened to be a little weak on bookkeeping he would give me the time books and reports to keep and send in to the office.

Anaconda High School.

I was qualified by this time to attend first year high school. This was in the winter of 1897-1898. It was my most interesting and helpful educational experience. Algebra and Latin were among the required subjects; my first contact with either. Latin grammar gave me an insight, for the first time, into the function of English grammar in the use and study

of the English language; before that English grammar seemed to me like excess baggage. The Anaconda high school was a great help to me; it was my first, last and only encounter with education above the grade school. It was a glimpse along the corridor. I did not have many social contacts; believe that I did not attend a single party or other affair outside the school. I joined the football squad and played in part of one game; playing left end I tackled a runner, threw him completely off his feet and he landed on top of me as I slid on my back through a puddle of ice water standing on a sheet of smooth ice. He dropped the ball and my teammates grabbed it for a touchdown. That ice water inside my underwear was enough to put me out of the game for that day and I did not play again.

The English teacher, a young and comely dame, organized a debate; the subject, "Resolved that the demonitization of silver was the principal cause of the panic of 1893." Three of the stars, elected to take the affirmative, two girls and a boy, but there was trouble finding any one for the negative. When English turned her charms on me, I was a gone goose; she promised to help me and gave me some material to read. It seemed to me that looking at the probabilities the affirmative of this proposition was untenable. It just could not be. However, between carrying my newspaper routes and getting my homework I did not succeed in putting together anything that sounded like an argument. Too bad the Harvard Economic History of the period (quoted above) had not been written at that time. I got up there said it could not possibly be so and picked on the opponents a little, but it was a sorry effort. The other side had three pretty smart people. I think the judges believed that the affirmative was true. But I could not blame them for awarding them the decision. I think the English teacher cooled off a little toward me also.

The debating incident seems worth repeating here because it sticks in my memory and this means that it was a helpful lesson. I was trying to argue a question without knowing the facts or having looked up any authorities; don't make the same mistake twice.

Ross Marshall
Butte, Montana, 1898

Carrying Newspapers.

While attending school in Anaconda I had, at one time, three newspaper routes. The first one was the Anaconda Standard, the morning paper, starting from the press room at 5:30 to 6:00 a. m., about 150 papers in the down town business section but ending at the smelter about one and one half miles from home, about 7:00 or a little after. For the Sunday morning paper we boys reported about ten p. m. and began stuffing the supplements, for both the city delivery and the mailing list. By the time the presses began turning out the news section we were ready to stuff all the supplements into the news section. We could not start on our routes until we had finished the entire issue; then the papers were three times as heavy as the week day issue and we had to make two or three trips from the office. When I finished my route at the smelter I started home at a lively trot and continued the pace all the way home; my wind and leg muscles were really very good. For a time I had another local route in the south end of town, farthest from home, at 4:30 to 5:30 p. m. and then I took on another route carrying the Butte evening paper from the railroad station at 6:00 p. m. and ending in the block where I lived. This was too much for any boy, even at 17, to carry on and attend high school and try to keep up with homework.

As I arrived at the Anaconda Standard press room on the morning of May 2, 1898, the head line reported that Admiral Dewey had sunk the Spanish Fleet in Manila Bay and we were really at war with Spain. A lot of the boys began enlisting. I was 18 and weighed about 115 pounds; I was probably tough enough and might have passed physical examination, but certainly I had no urge to enlist. We did not like McKinley and I did not understand why we were interested in the Philippine Islands. The country did not seem to be in any danger of being invaded by the Spaniards. Many young men in the west were attracted by the adventure and were ready to follow Theodore Roosevelt. I preferred to stick to railroading.

CHAPTER VIII

We Move Back to Montana Central

Some time in the summer of 1898 our family moved from Anaconda to Bernice, a small station on the Montana Central a few miles east of the Continental divide, right at the foot of the steep grade from the summit. One evening after dark I was in the telegraph office, when we heard a train coming down the mountain and as it seemed to be coming too fast, the operator and I rushed out on the platform in time to see it pass about seventy miles an hour. A few minutes later we heard the operator at Basin, four miles down the creek, report its arrival there. They said that one of their brakemen was missing and he might have fallen off while trying to set hand brakes to control the speed coming down the mountain. They were ordered to cut off the engine and return to Bernice. Our operator cut in and said that we would start up the mountain looking for the brakeman. I took one side and the operator the other. About a mile up the grade I saw the man doubled up in the snow at the foot of the embankment about 100 feet from the track. I found the marks in the snow where he first struck the side of the bank after falling from the top of a box car. These marks were at least 50 feet from the place where he was found. The train was moving so fast that when the box car hit the curve the man lost his hold on the brake wheel. In a few minutes the engine came along and the train crew picked him up. This may have been in the early fall of 1898.

I Have A Job As Timekeeper.

There was an extra gang working near Bernice, riprapping along the creek, and Billy Dunn, the Foreman, an illiterate Scotchman, took me on as a laborer so that I could do the timekeeping, write his letters, reports, etc. When the extra gang moved from Bernice to Clancy we had a misunderstanding as to whether I should move with it. I climbed aboard and

rode in the cupola of the caboose but when we unloaded at Clancy the old man said he was surprised to see me there. Of course, these were not his exact words, and my reply was not couched in friendly terms. I turned in the time books, walked down to the Roadmaster's office and asked for a pass back to Bernice, which was granted. I did not report any trouble to the Roadmaster. It was only a few days until I was offered a job, as timekeeper, not as laborer, on a riprapping job along the Missouri River between Helena and Great Falls. A part of the timekeeping job was to issue clothing, shoes, gloves, tobacco and other such items to the men employed in the gang and enter the sales, along with the meals, to be deducted from wages earned. It was my business to see that the men did not overdraw their accounts. At the end of the month the timebooks were closed and extended and the board and commissary deductions listed and everything forwarded to the Roadmaster's office in Great Falls. When anyone wanted to quit, I gave him an identification certificate and mailed an order for a time check to the Great Falls office. The time check would be sent to any station where the man wanted to receive it. The timekeeping and bookkeeping for forty men did not keep me busy so I learned to hold a drill and to strike a drill held by another in putting down holes for dynamite charges. This was interesting work and good training.

All sorts and conditions of men worked on these extra gangs. Many were derelicts, moving from pay day to pay day, following the seasons north and south. They would spend or lose a month's wages in a few hours, wake up in the gutter or in jail, and start looking for another job. Most of them had a roll of blankets and some working clothes which they bought on credit from the Boarding Boss. There were young Swedes and Norwegians, working for a stake to start farming, who saved every cent they earned. Yale and Harvard grads worked side by side with illiterates. Many of these men naturally had experience as railroad trackmen and some on the rip-rapping gang were hard-rock men from mines and railroad construction jobs. They all observed the democratic western habit of minding their own business; it was not safe to be nosy. There was plenty of conversation especially after

hours. There were always a few orators in the gang. When they moved from the topic "Women who have known me," there was interesting talk about current events, politics and economics.

The foreman was always on the alert to prevent liquor from getting into camp and to get rid of trouble makers. Poker games were allowed if lights were turned out early. The barracks were pre-fab buildings that could be set up and bolted together quickly and moved from place to place as the site of the work changed. There was a cook shack with dining room connected and three or four sleeping shacks with two story bunks that could be moved in one piece. The Foreman and Timekeeper had a small office in one corner of the cook shack where the commissary supplies were kept under lock with desk and upper and lower berth. There were no floors in the cook shack and dining room and only the aisles of the bunk houses had moveable walkways.

The boarding boss was one Dan Boyington, a large and jovial man, not in business for his health alone. He supplied the cooks and "cookees," and the groceries and supplies and commissary stock for sale to the men. We never sold anything for cash and Dan got his money from the railroad after the deductions had been made. Dan was naturally interested in providing food and service that would keep him out of trouble with the railroad management and depended heavily on the Foremen and Timekeepers of the gangs to keep him informed and see that the camps were operated smoothly. Whenever the Foreman and I could spend a Sunday at Dan's headquarters in Helena we were assured of having a good time.

One evening there was a run on the plug tobacco in the commissary. The one pound plugs of "Climax," "Star" and "Horseshoe" were indented with cross-lines showing where to cut them for ten cent sections, probably eight pieces to the pound. I had a blade mounted in a frame and operated by a lever to do this cutting accurately. Usually the men would buy one or two pieces to last a day or two and have them fresh and not too dry. This night one man came in and bought a whole pound, cut into ten cent pieces; he was followed shortly by another and yet another for the same amount. Then

came one that did not chew tobacco and I became suspicious. They threatened to exhaust my supplies of plug tobacco. So I locked up the office and followed the last customer. Some one had tossed a ten-cent plug into the pot in a poker game, without objection, and some of the kibitzers, who were short of cash adopted the idea and began to play poker on credit, using the tobacco cuts as chips. I found the Foreman and he went around and suggested that it was time to turn out the lights.

When hard liquor got into camp as sometimes happened there was always trouble and stern measures were necessary. I saw Foreman Otto Korpe bend a drift bolt over the head of a roaring drunk and lay him out cold. That drunk was on the job the next morning with a lump on his head which he could not explain. My gang moved three or four times along the Missouri River and on one occasion we went to an emergency job on the Belt Branch; about three days going and returning. We had to move through Great Falls both ways and the long interval since the last pay day helped to keep the gang away from the "Hot Spots" of the town. A bundle stiff has no standing in any bar or brothel, except on pay day.

The Italian Gang.

This job continued through the fall and winter of 1898-1899. In the spring, having established a reputation as a sober, reliable, and efficient timekeeper, with good luck and the help of others, I was assigned as Timekeeper for a gang of 93 Italians, shipped out from St. Paul, recently imported from Italy. None of these Italians could speak English but they were under control of a padrone who could speak both English and Italian fluently. My job: get their names written in the time book, assign numbers, learn the numbers in Italian, learn the faces of the men and associate them with their respective numbers. In a few days all these Italian boys were my pals and I could call their first names when they gave me their numbers in Italian.

They were put to work, partly for training I think, on a job of shoveling. A long cut on a curve east of Cascade badly needed ditching and a fill a mile or two west needed widening.

In those days we did not have the machines now available for such work. We had a train of flat cars, probably fifteen, which was spotted on the curve in the cut and loaded by shoveling from the slope, then moved out on the fill and unloaded by pushing the material off with the shovels. This process delayed frequently by moving out of the way for trains to pass was slow and inefficient but this labor was cheap and needed training.

The Accident That Opened The Door Of Opportunity.

About two weeks after I went with the Italian gang I suffered a severe personal injury. About six p. m. the train of flat cars was backing around the curve, the caboose ahead, to pick up the men who were taking down material from the side of the cut and take the gang to camp. I was standing on a flat rock on top of the waste dirt that had rolled off the cars during loading on the outside of the curve. With my lunch pail and time books in my left hand I grasped the curved rail at the steps of the head end of the caboose (the end next to the flat cars) and raised my left foot to engage the caboose step. I was not looking at the step and my foot missed it. Next moment I was stretched flat on my back along the top of the spilled dirt and my left foot slipping down toward the rail. Before I could turn outward the wheel of the empty flat car ran over my left heel. Somebody saw me fall and stopped the train at once. I climbed out and swung up on top of the flat car and walked into the caboose. A heavy leather heel on my shoe had turned sideways under the wheel and saved my foot but the heel was badly mashed. The train had to go to Cascade to deliver the gang and get orders to run to Great Falls, about thirty miles, to take me to the hospital. I did not get there until about nine o'clock. Next morning the surgeon did a fine job dressing and cleaning up my heel with the result that nearly all of it was saved and I was walking again in six weeks.

Before I was ready to leave the hospital the Chief Clerk from the Superintendent's office came in to see me. He knew that my injury was not going to be too serious. I was only nineteen and maybe my parents had not executed a minor's release. Mr. Joseph L. Forepaugh, the Chief Clerk, asked me

if I would like to have a job in the Superintendent's office at Great Falls. He could not have guessed how much I wanted that job because I did not want to appear too anxious and merely said "Yes, I thought I would." He had the personal injury release all written out and I signed it right there in the hospital. Thus at the age of nineteen I had reached the place I wanted to be even if it was only to be messenger at $35 a month; less than I had been earning as a Timekeeper.

CHAPTER IX

Four Years in the Superintendent's Office

My first job in the office was entitled messenger and clerk. My foot was tender and I could not yet wear a shoe; it was bound up in an old slipper. About the second day the Super called me in and handed me a letter to be delivered, as soon as possible, to the Master Mechanic. I made quite a show of limping out of the office but he never looked up. The office of the Master Mechanic was on the other side of the river reached by walking across the railroad bridge on the ties; the distance round-trip was more than half a mile. My foot was sore when I got back and I still had to walk home to my boarding house after work. This exercise seemed to be what my foot needed; in a few days I began to wear a shoe on it. My work was opening mail, matching files, writing time checks and passes, making impression copies of letters and documents, running errands and helping everybody in the office. The copying was done with an old fashioned press; a flat steel plate pressed down by a screw, operated by a wheel atop the frame, upon a book of tissues with strong covers. This was done by placing a smooth cardboard in the book, the document backed on the cardboard, a sheet of the tissue over the face of the document, a damp cloth over the tissue, then another cardboard and repeat for additional documents. Additional loose tissues could be inserted for free copies. Then close the book, screw down the press and leave for a few minutes. It was easy to get into trouble by having the rags too wet or placing papers backwards, etc. We had to copy all of our pay rolls and accounting reports in this way; they were all written with copying ink. I worked in front of the main office door in which there was a counter shelf imposed on the lower door section. Here I interviewed callers and gave information; many of these were men coming for time checks or employes calling for passes. I kept the bottom section of the door locked under the shelf. Important people could come in another way to the

Chief Clerk's office. Sometimes the men calling for time checks had grievances and they were always in a great hurry. They became troublesome especially when they had been able to get a few drinks before they got their money; I was able to handle these people pretty well because I knew their line of talk; only once did we have to gang up on a big Swede who got his foot in the door and push him down the stairs. I helped with clerical work as directed by the material clerk who was the head accountant. This gave me an opportunity to learn the work that was being done on all the other desks. There had been difficulty in getting and keeping help in the office because men sent out from the St. Paul office did not like the country and did not like the grilling overtime work for regular pay. So they were continually leaving; for that reason the Chief Clerk and Superintendent were anxious to get and train natives like myself, who were at home in the town and eager to learn the business. This explains why promotion was so rapid for me and others who wanted to stick. In that office we did all of the disbursement accounting for the operating division, pay rolls and material reports and other expense items, except for the mechanical department; its accounting was done in the offices of the Master Mechanic and Storekeeper across the river. There were five men in our office besides myself engaged in the accounting work; salary range from $35 to $85 per month. Pay rolls were made once a month; we worked until ten p. m. or midnight after the first day of the month to get them finished and press copied in time to make the train for St. Paul, leaving at 4:00 a. m. on the 5th. After that we worked some more evenings to complete the pay roll distribution and the material distribution by another dead line on the tenth. The balance of the month we worked the regular schedule six days, sixty hours a week. All of our pay rolls and reports went to the Auditor of Disbursements in St. Paul, who checked everything and sent us details of errors and corrections, if any. There was a printed book of accounting rules and detailed definitions of all the expense accounts (and revenue accounts too), some 200 accounts, and we distributed all the pay roll and expense items, for our division, to these prescribed accounts. Every month we made an analysis of changes as compared with same month of

preceding year. These accounting rules were the pattern and forerunner of those adopted by the Interstate Commerce Commission several years later. We had to study these rules and know them so well as to be able to rapidly classify expense items to the right accounts.

About the 16th to 20th of each month the pay checks and the original pay rolls came from St. Paul; six or seven weeks after the beginning of the month for which payment was being made. Most of these were sent to the larger stations where the employes could call for them but those for the outlying sections and gangs along the line of road were sent to our office and delivered by the members of our force. Usually I had the rolls for all the section gangs and some other men along the line between Great Falls and Havre. Leave Great Falls on the 4 a. m. passenger train, take a sleep in the coach, arrive Havre about seven and try to grab some breakfast before the local freight left for Great Falls. My job was to get the signature of the payee on the pay roll and deliver the check; how and when he got it cashed was his lookout. I would ride the engine until we came to a gang working on the track, drop off, and while the train pulled by get the men to sign, give them their checks, and catch the caboose without stopping. If I stopped the train or delayed it very much the train conductor and the train dispatcher at Great Falls and probably the stockholders in Germany would begin to complain. This went on for 9 or 10 hours and 125 miles but I had long rest periods while the train crew unloaded freight or switched cars at stations or waited for other trains. I would be ready for bed on arrival at Great Falls. These details about my work seem to be worth telling because they portray the atmosphere of the business; get the job done on time and do it right. I worked there three years and five months, was promoted four times, and learned to do everything on every desk in the office; salary increased from $35 to $85 per month, and that was a good job at that time. These years were the ones that would have been spent in college, if I could have gone to school. I had to support myself and help to support my family. In my view the experience in that office yielded in quantity and intensity more education than a four year liberal arts course. It was concentrated on mathematics, accounting, sta-

tistics, some engineering, and some psychology while liberal arts, literature, history and religion were neglected. My brother Larrie followed me in the office and remained there for several years after I left.

Home Life In Great Falls.

My life in Great Falls was devoted to the railroad. It was important for me to regain my physical stamina after being in the hospital and I missed no opportunity to get out in the open. Homer Malcolm, a year or two younger than me, was trainmens timekeeper when I entered the office. He had been a call boy at the Great Falls yard office and had not even been to high school. All the other men in the office at that time were much older. We teamed up and Homer assumed charge of my initiation. He taught me to chew tobacco which he said was required for a railroad man in an office where smoking was distasteful to others. Homer wanted to find out whether he could manhandle me; he was several pounds heavier and a few inches shorter than me. My lame foot saved me from physical encounters but after it healed he tried desperately for about two years to put me down on my back. He never succeeded except by surprise attacks; he simply could not stand against a sudden change in balance. I could shift my feet and pull him in the direction he was already moving and he would go sprawling every time. We went everywhere together and were bosom friends. We never had a fight of any kind.

Homer's sister called Babe, about a year younger than he, was a bright spot in the universe. She had a good voice and spent much time taking lessons and training it. She was going to school while Homer and I were working. All the boys were trying without success to gain her partial attention. I used to go home with Homer and spend the evening and knew Babe and her family as well as anybody. She interested me very much and we had lots of fun. Being a poor boy without prospects and under 21 it was not wise to become seriously interested in any girl; however, I never had any reason to think that Babe had any serious notions about me. A young man named Bert Driver came from New England to manage a drug store where Babe was working temporarily

part time during a rush season. The Malcolms rented a room in their home to the new manager and before long Bert married Babe and the rest of the boys could get some sleep.

Homer and I owned a tin boat, on which we had rigged a sail, although it was built for a row boat for hunting purposes. We kept it on the bank of the river just above the railroad bridge. We used to sail it summer evenings on the broad expanse of the river which extended for about a mile above the bridge. Just at the bridge the river narrowed at the head of a series of rapids. The current under the bridge and for half a mile down stream was too swift to row a boat up stream. One afternoon I launched the boat, raised the sail and tacked across river to move up stream. The wind was fairly strong down stream and the current a little faster than usual, the river was higher than normal. When I changed to the other tack on the far side of the river my position was closer to the bridge than when I started. By taking down the sail and bending to the oars I could have returned to the landing easily, but I tried to sail closer to the wind and make headway with the sail. By the time I realized this would not work it was too late and I went under the bridge and down the rapids dodging among the bridge piers and the rocks. The only real danger lay in striking a bridge pier or a rock and capsizing, which I avoided. But this was quite a blow to my pride as a sailor. We had to hire a team and wagon to haul the boat back to the upper bay via the highway bridge and through the town.

I lived in Great Falls nearly four years and it seemed more like home than any other place I had lived. The family had moved from Bernice to Basin, where sister Bessie Judith was born, January 16, 1900. She was the ninth and last child of whom seven were living. Not long after Bess was born and after both Larrie and I were working in the office at Great Falls, Father obtained employment as a freight clerk in the railroad Great Falls freight office. The family moved to Great Falls and with three regular salaries our fortunes improved. The younger children for the first time could regularly attend good schools and a good high school. Father and Mother continued to live in Great Falls until they died and my three sisters live there now, in 1955. Most of my time was spent at

the office. Even on Sundays we found something to do there. Homer and I had charge accounts at two haberdashers; we let one run while we paid the other and were always in debt. But we always wore good clothes; for Sunday wear and dances we had striped pants, patent leather shoes, high stand up collars, morning ties, and Derby Hats. We became known as those railroad dudes and we spent more money on clothes than most of the boys our age could afford. However, that kind of attire was quite proper in Great Falls and I think elsewhere, in 1900.

We went to dances on Saturday nights about twice a month, if we could get away from the office. These were well managed, well sponsored affairs attended by the best social circles. The high school girls and boys and young married couples, and working people like us made up the majority. There were always chaperones and the boys knew they had to keep sober and behave themselves. There was a theatre in the town, known as the opera house, where traveling stock companies came frequently in the fall and winter seasons. They presented the old favorite dramas, Shakespearean plays and some of the more modern productions. I can remember Sherlock Holmes and the Admirable Crichton but Julius Caesar, and Taming of the Shrew really packed the house. Probably there were some operas on a small scale but if so I probably stayed away on purpose.

Probably my home life in Great Falls was about normal and average for the times and there is nothing much to write about. The younger children in our family all had scarlet fever, one at a time so that Mother was quarantined with them for several weeks and Father, Larrie and I had to go back to Mrs. Wells boarding house and carry in the supplies for Mother in the evenings. The recital of these details is a pertinent part of my story. The pursuit of my chosen profession, if one can call it that, took me away from Great Falls and the State of Montana in October 1902 and I never returned, except for a few short visits.

CHAPTER X

Working for the Rock Island

One of the men who came to Great Falls from the St. Paul office was John B. Parkhurst; he came to replace Victor Hankins as Material Clerk when Victor was moved to another division that needed his skill and experience. At that time I was on the Bridge and Building desk but not quite ready for the top job. Parkhurst was a trained expert, who stood well with the management and visited one division after another in the interest of efficiency and uniformity. Parkhurst remained with us only a few months; he was called back to St. Paul and I succeeded him.

Soon after that some important executives from the Great Northern moved to Chicago to take over the management of the Rock Island. One of these men was John F. Stevens, who had located the Western Extension through the Marias Pass; another was Charles Warren, the chief accounting officer who had established the accounting system on the Great Northern which was then looked upon as a model. A number of accounting men went with Warren to Chicago and Parkhurst was among them. Before long Parkhurst wrote me to ask if I would come to Chicago where a bright future awaited. I had covered the field in the Great Falls office and felt that I could not afford to miss this opportunity to gain knowledge and experience in my chosen field. So, in October 1902 I was on my way to Chicago. I had not been east of Havre since 1883 and was prepared for a thrilling experience. From Great Falls to the North Dakota line is more than 400 miles, leaving at four in the morning the shades of night were falling before the train was out of the State of Montana. My capital was about $50 and I had to conserve it but I never learned to buy a sandwich in a dining car. My interest in seeing the country and things along the railroad resulted in scant use of my upper berth. Arriving in St. Paul I went up to the Great Northern general office in the hope of seeing Jack Schweizer, a boy who

had worked in Great Falls. The awesome thought of being there in the home of the Great Northern, where President James J. Hill sat in judgment, nearly rendered me speechless. The young man at the reception desk asked if I was feeling well. Jack was out of town so I hurried from that place and waited for the Rock Island train to take me to Chicago. Next morning the train passed Rock Island near the place where I was born, speeded through the beautiful countryside toward Chicago. On arrival, went directly to find Parkhurst and within the hour was standing before the General Auditor J. L. Cramer, a Great Northern man from St. Paul. Parkhurst made a very brief introduction and vanished, rather hastily, and I was alone with the great man. He was seated at a long table piled high with documents and files and behind him was a large desk equally loaded. He was bald as a billiard ball, sallow of complexion, long and lean, serious looking and evidently far behind with his work. It was perhaps half a minute before he looked up from his reading and looked me over carefully. There was I, age 22, tall, thin, freckled, auburn hair and bright blue eyes waiting to be examined. His question, How old are you? There was a perceptible pause before my senses registered and my Adams Apple released the right answer. After another gimlet-eyed survey he pressed a button; in came a brisk young man and to him Cramer said, "This is Mr. Marshall, take him out and put him to work." This Mr. Fisher was the Chief Clerk to General Auditor, a Rock Island product, not a Great Northern immigrant, and he knew that I was one of the latter. He could not have been more friendly and helpful than he was. He took me to the Disbursement Division and asked the Chief Clerk to put me to work there "until assigned to other duties." He put me to work at a high desk checking locomotive fuel unloading reports against invoices for coal shipped from the coal mines. Apparently a large number of cars of coal had been diverted as they could not be found on the Division to which originally billed. My concern with the locomotive fuel account ended when my new assignment came the next day. Across the desk from me was a pert young chap with black hair, brown eyes and a mischievous grin, about 20 years of age. He was Edward Stephen Gentle from Creston, Iowa; more about him later. He intro-

duced me around the office, we went to lunch and he extracted the information he wanted about where I came from and how it happened. In return he gave me much useful information. That was the beginning of a life-long friendship.

Next day Mr. Fisher sent for me and introduced me to Superintendent Given of the Missouri Division and his Chief Clerk. They wanted me to go with them to Trenton, Missouri, their division office and help them to get started on the new Great Northern accounting system. They would like to have me join them on Number 11, leaving at six o'clock for Trenton. Mr. Fisher provided me with passes, credentials as a traveling accountant and a folder of rules and instructions. Mr. Given and his Chief Clerk examined me half the night, satisfied their doubts about the new accounting system and next morning turned me loose in their accounting office. There, to my delight, was a young Russian Jew named Charles Futoranski, with a mind like a sponge, and good basic training in accounting. We sat down and went over the forms and instructions. He had read and studied them and his mind was full of pertinent questions. He never had to be told anything more than once; he was a natural accountant and statistician. I knew then that he would not remain in the railroad business unless promotion came more rapidly that it usually does for people far removed from headquarters. My job in Trenton, thus, was made easy and I reported to Mr. Fisher that he did not have any worry about Trenton so long as Futoranski was there. After about two weeks I was instructed to move to Topeka, Kansas, and I got Supt. Given to guarantee my board and room bill so that I could leave.

Topeka, Kansas.

At Topeka Supt. Jones took me into his accountant and we began the process of teaching the system. They were right in the midst of preparing the monthly pay rolls and I worked with the others for several days and evenings, writing, footing and balancing the pay rolls. The evening of the deadline for mailing the rolls to Chicago found us out of balance on the summary and we were all looking for the error. Supt. Jones came in about ten to see what was going on; he took a bunch

of pay rolls and began checking and he was lucky enough to have looked in the right place. He gloated a little about it.

The Topeka office had a good force and a good boss and within two or three weeks I was ordered to go to Dalhart, Texas. I arranged for credit in Topeka and departed. My original capital was exhausted and up to this time the Rock Island had not paid me a cent. At Dalhart the matter of finding that coal which had been shipped for locomotive fuel was on the agenda. By this time the Division Accountants had all been briefed on the Great Northern accounting system and they were beginning to think it was better than what they had before.

Dalhart, Texas.

I went to work on the unloading records at Dalhart; this covered a period of several months. There had been a tieup at the coal mines or severe cold weather or both; the railroad had confiscated carloads of coal shipped as commercial freight and during the cold weather people in the towns along the line had unloaded coal shipped there for locomotive use. In some cases they had done this smilingly while armed with shotguns. I tried to reconcile the records in the division office, the reports of confiscations, both ways, the original reports from the coaling stations. I found that many carloads invoiced to the Dalhart Division apparently had not reached that division. I set up and re-arranged all the information that could be found at Dalhart about the coal actually unloaded and used on that Division and sent these papers to the Auditor Disbursements with the suggestion that it would be necessary to check the whole business from a system standpoint with the aid of the records in the Car Accountants office; they could at least find where the cars moved. That was the last I heard about the coal matter.

I worked at Dalhart through Thanksgiving and Christmas and received instructions right after Christmas to return to Topeka. My pay check and expense account had failed to reach me and I was nearly penniless. Again arranged for credit in Dalhart and had a dollar bill and some silver in my pocket facing the long ride to Topeka. My need for clean collars was dire so I went into a clothing store in Dalhart and

bought two collars for fifty cents and handed the man my one-dollar paper bill. These paper dollars were rarely seen in Dalhart. This fact was turning over in my mind as the store man went to get my change; thinking seriously of the probability that he might bring change for a five dollar bill the smallest paper money in general circulation there. When he awakened me from my dream and counted four silver dollars and a fifty cent piece into my hand, with thanks, I was not surprised. I walked out of the store with the money in my pocket and turned to the business of getting ready to leave town. That evening when hunger moved me to consider a visit to the dining car, I reached into my pocket to see if it would be feasible. Then the four silver dollars did indeed shock me and brought me face to face with the fact that I had swindled an honest tradesman. My appetite remained keen and this silver money could not then be restored to its rightful owner. Adopting a firm resolution to make restitution when possible I enjoyed my dinner. It would be nice to record that I sent a check to this storekeeper with apologies but the truth is that I never did that. The reasons like not knowing the name of the store or the name of the person who waited on me are spurious. I thought it was a one dollar bill, but was it?

Arriving in Topeka about 7:30 a. m. I walked up that wide main street from the station carrying my grip; stopped in front of a restaurant with a plate glass window and there not far from the window sat Edward Stephen Gentle and some of the boys from the office having breakfast. They motioned me in and breakfast was assured; my luck was holding. My pay check and expense account were waiting for me at the Topeka office. Ed Gentle and I returned to Chicago arriving there New Year's Day 1903.

Division Accountant At Chicago.

Parkhurst had been promoted and I was appointed to succeed him as Division accountant of the Illinois and Chicago Terminal Divisions with office in the Grand Central Station. Soon after the office was moved from Grand Central to the new LaSalle Station. The Superintendent of the Illinois Division was Frank O. Melcher, later Vice President of the Rock Island and while he held that position he was killed in a rear

end collision on the Illinois Central Railroad which wrecked his office car. Mr. James T. Harahan formerly President of the I. C. was killed in the same accident. That Mr. Harahan was father of William J. Harahan who was President of the Chesapeake and Ohio 1920 to 1929 and 1935-1937.

My work in the Division office at Chicago was similar to that in the Great Falls office. There was greater volume and a few more clerks and I was responsible for them. We worked long hours to meet the deadlines and the customary difficulties arose, but loyalty and team work prevailed. Our performance was rated satisfactory. In the office were Charles Graham Adams, called "Gray" and Robert Cornell Brown called "Bob." Mr. Melcher introduced Bob to me and asked me to try him out and use him if he could produce. He was inexperienced in office work but loyal, willing and very eager to please. He was from Belmont, Mass., where lived his father of Little, Brown and Co., publishers, of Boston. Bob had not finished his education in Boston and came to us in Chicago from a ranch in South Dakota where he had learned to be a cow-boy. As will appear, he followed me and worked under me for many years. Gray Adams continued with the Rock Island, became a Division Superintendent finally at Little Rock, Arkansas, where he retired a few years ago.

While working in Chicago I lived for a short time in Normal Park where Edward F. Morgan, from the Great Northern, also roomed. He gave me a well thumbed copy of Ivanhoe, which, he said, was the best novel ever written and I was inclined to agree with him after reading it. I moved to a boarding and rooming house in Auburn Park, a large old residence in a quiet neighborhood. The place was well managed by a widow woman; she served breakfast, also the evening meal if we could assure her that we would be there to eat it. Ed Gentle, Gray Adams, Robert Brown and two or three other Rock Island boys lived there a year or more. We used the Rock Island commuter trains. We had great times there Saturday nights and Sundays when we did not have to work and especially on pay days. Ed Gentle, who worked in the General office received his pay on the first of the month while line of road employes, like myself, received their pay on the fifteenth, far distant divisions somewhat later. I borrowed

from Ed on the first and he borrowed from me on the fifteenth and this continued for so long a time that we did not know when we were square. About the second year in Chicago Ed Gentle and I rented a furnished apartment and his Sister Ada came from Creston, Iowa to keep house for us. This was a pleasant and economical arrangement for all of us and continued until Ed was sent out on the road as a traveling auditor or I was moved to Rock Island. These changes began in 1904 as a result of another change in Rock Island management.

The Baltimore And Ohio Regime.

The men from the Great Northern had established their system and were getting their feet on the ground when changes occurred in the ownership or in the Directorate of the Rock Island Company. The Board employed Lenore F. Loree, an engineer and operator who had been making a record as an expert in railroad management and operation, most recently on the Baltimore and Ohio. They probably entered into a contract for a certain period at a relatively large salary. Be that as it may, we employes at the LaSalle Station became aware of changes being made or in prospect. Most of the Great Northern men disappeared and new faces from the B. & O. and other Eastern roads appeared. There were briefing meetings going on nearly every day. The atmosphere was full of dust and morale was staggering a little. In brief, from my point of view, the B. & O. system of division accounting supplanted the Great Northern system and I was among those being taught instead of a teacher. Of course the changes as before were in the forms of recording and reporting and not in the basic timekeeping, pay roll making and other office functions. We received a supply of new books and forms; an expert came to explain them and we were ready to go on our way. But, in addition there were organizational changes. The Maintenance of Way and the Maintenance of Equipment were separated from the operating department, with separate system executives. Division Engineers were appointed to have charge of maintaining tracks and structures reporting to the Chief Maintenance Engineer, subject to the Division Superintendent in matters affecting safety, operations and disciplinary action. Very soon the Superintendent of the Illinois Division

was moved to Rock Island and the Division Engineer for the Illinois Division and Chicago Terminal Division remained in Chicago. My office was split up and I remained in Chicago as Chief Clerk to the Division Engineer and in charge of the Maintenance of Way accounting for both divisions. I had the same desk in the same room as before the change and my salary had not been cut. This arrangement continued from July 1904 to August 1905.

At Rock Island, Illinois.

As Chief Clerk to the Division Engineer, who spent about three fourths of his time out on the railroad, it was my job to answer his telephone and try to keep him advised when he called in about once a day; he was hard to find most of the time. These calls came from his superior or one of his subordinates or sometimes from the Division Superintendent. Some of them were really "hot potatoes" and had to be handled quickly. The Super. generally was ready to speak his mind and not unwilling to tell it to me, with trimmings. This organization did not survive; in August 1905 the Division Engineer, Illinois Division was moved to Rock Island. My task: to separate the Chicago Terminal Division office records and move what belonged to the Illinois Division to Rock Island, where we were installed in some inconvenient little rooms in an old residence across the street from the Station. The Supt. and his offices occupied the whole second floor of the Station. The Maintenance accounting was moved into the office of the operating division accountant, a sensible and economical arrangement, as it had been before any of the changes.

The position of Chief Clerk to Division Engineer was abolished and my title was changed to Clerk; my salary was not reduced. I continued to serve the Division Engineer in taking care of his office work and telephone calls but most of my time was spent in the accounting department. I was waiting for something to turn up. Several of my friends were in the Rock Island office, among them Charles T. Ames, who had been Chief Clerk at Chicago, Gray Adams and Robert Brown. We were beginning to organize our lives in Rock Island when a call came to me from New York.

CHAPTER XI

The Panama Railroad and Steamship Company

One of the men I knew on the Illinois Division was William Grant Bierd, then Trainmaster at Blue Island. He came to my Chicago office for pay roll and performance statistics frequently. He later had been made a Division Superintendent at Amarillo, Texas. When John F. Stevens formerly of the Great Northern and more recently in the management of Rock Island, was appointed Chief Engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission, he asked Bierd to go with him to Panama as General Manager of the Panama Railroad and Steamship Company. The Panama Railroad was a useful instrument in the building of the Canal.

The Panama Railroad Company was organized by special act of Legislature of the State of New York, on April 7, 1849, and opened for operation January 28, 1855. Many of the California bound, gold seeking pioneers ascended the Chagres River from old Fort San Lorenzo, to the base of the Continental Divide and then followed the Old Cruces Trail to Panama City; many of them died from malaria and yellow fever. This New York corporation was granted concessions by Colombia in 1850 and these were renewed and confirmed by the Republic of Panama on November 3, 1903. In 1880 the French Canal Company, under De Lesseps, undertook the construction of a sea level canal across the Isthmus but that effort failed, due in some part to inability to control malaria and yellow fever and maintain the health of their workmen. The French used the Panama Railroad extensively.

The United States purchased from the French Canal Company in 1904, the uncompleted waterway for $40,000,000. President Roosevelt negotiated a treaty with Colombia, signed January 22, 1903, under which the United States would have the right to build and operate the canal. This treaty was ratified by the United States Senate but rejected by Colombia. Shortly after the Colombian Senate disapproved the treaty,

in the hope of gaining further concessions from the United States, the Republic of Panama declared its independence, November 3, 1903. Colombian troops sent to put down the secession were stopped by 47 marines from the Cruiser Nashville, which happened to be in the vicinity. President Roosevelt recognized the new state of Panama on November 8. Then a new treaty was negotiated with Panama and ratified by the United States Senate in February, 1904. By this treaty the Canal Zone was established, as a United States reservation, administered by a Canal Zone Government and having supervision over the construction and operation of the canal. The United States agreed to pay Panama Ten Million Dollars in Gold and $250,000 annual rental which was increased to $430,000 in 1936 and again increased recently. Colombia was dissatisfied with these arrangements and claimed damages; its claims were settled for $23 millions in 1923. The Canal Zone was defined as a strip of land extending across the Isthmus and five miles on either side of the axis of the canal. At first the Canal Zone Government had jurisdiction in many respects over the Cities of Panama and Colon. Later when malaria and other diseases had been controlled and the streets, alleys and sewers cleaned up, the Panamanian Government took over these functions of civil administration. The Americans occupied the Canal Zone in May 1904.

Panama Railroad Operations.

The Panama Railroad Company for many years prior to 1904 had operated the Railroad and a fleet of steamships between New York harbor and the Port of Colon. The Company's principal business was the transportation of coastwise freight between the East and West coasts of the United States. The P. R. R. steamships operated scheduled service between New York and San Francisco-Los Angeles via Colon, Panama Railroad, Balboa and Pacific Mail SS Co. Several other steamship lines from Atlantic Ports served Colon: among these were the English Royal Mail (New York, Southampton, West Indies), the German Hamburg American Line (New York, Hamburg and Caribbean Ports), the Leyland-Harrison Line and United Fruit Company. Foreign vessels. many of them tramps, were carrying cargoes between European Ports and

the West Coast of South America. The railroad was the intermediate bridge for all of this Atlantic-Pacific trade; it handled the cargoes between ship side and railroad cars at both ports, in both directions. The British Royal Mail and Hamburg American ships had good passenger accommodations; all five of the P. R. R. ships carried passengers between New York and Colon. The Pacific Mail was the principal carrier on the West Coast; there were irregular services to South American Pacific ports. The principal passenger business of the railroad was local, as there was no passable highway across the Isthmus; but there was a thriving, year round transfer of tourists and business travelers overhead between the two ports.

About the time the United States purchased the canal property from the French Company, with the consent of Colombia, it was seen that the Panama Railroad and its steamship line would be a useful, if not indispensable, instrument for the building of the canal. The major part of the railroad would have to be relocated and the remainder rebuilt and improved; all of this would involve troublesome negotiations with private owners. From every point of view it was best to have the free use, and if necessary the exclusive use, of the railroad and steamships. Before the time the United States was ready to move into the Canal Zone, provision had been made to acquire the Company. The Government owned 98.5% of the capital stock of the Company and continued its status as a private enterprise. This greatly enhanced its usefulness in serving the needs of the Canal Commission and at the same time continuing to serve the trans-isthmus traffic as far as possible. The Company could exercise all of its private rights in making contracts, in buying and selling goods and acting as a common carrier. It kept the Government out of private business. The railroad because of its freedom of action was called upon to operate the Commissary Stores through which the Canal Employes could buy groceries, fresh meats and vegetables, clothing, utensils, furniture and other household needs, and all of this on credit by pay roll deduction. The Commissary manager, in the name of the railroad, could purchase goods anywhere in the world and carry on a merchan-

dising business free of the restrictions and limitations that would hamper a government purchasing officer.

The annual report of the Panama Railroad and Steam Ship Line for the year 1904 records that it carried 113,790 passengers and 414,649 tons of freight. As the canal construction work had hardly started in 1904 these figures afford a good measure of the pre-canal traffic across the Isthmus.

My Call to Panama.

One day in August 1905 I was working in the accounting office in Rock Island when the telegraph operator sent word to me that Rodman was on the wire in New York and wanted to talk to me. Rodman had been Chief Operator in the main telegraph office in LaSalle Station and he was then on his way to Panama with Bierd. It should be said in passing that Rodman installed telegraph and telephone services all over the railroad and canal commission offices in very quick order; he contracted malaria and died soon after he returned to the States. I went to the telegraph office and the operator read aloud what Rodman was saying over the wire. "This is Rodman, Mr. Bierd asks if you will accept position as Chief Clerk to General Manager, Panama Railroad, salary $250.00 a month, vacation and other privileges, we are sailing today and must have answer before we leave?" I said without hesitation answer "yes, when?" Rodman said "Mr. Bierd is right here and says for you to come as soon as possible; next ship sails from New York September 6; call at Panama Railroad office in New York and get further instructions, free passage, and all information. Good Bye, see you in Panama."

At the moment the prospect of going to Panama seemed like "Life's most alluring adventure." It was less than a week to sailing time. The Superintendent in Rock Island shed no tears and facilitated my departure, he promptly requested a pass from Chicago to New York to be picked up by me in Chicago, gave me a service letter and a time check. There was not time to visit my folks at home and I did not write them about it until arrival in New York. My wardrobe was not extensive. My funds were not adequate to purchase tropical clothing in New York and I was uncertain what I needed.

My pass to New York was on the Erie. The vaudeville joke then current in New York was "I want to get to Chicago the worst way" answer "Then take the Erie." However, it seemed all right to me and the train was not crowded. The morning after leaving Chicago a suspender manufacturer boarded the train at Mansfield, Ohio going to New York to purchase a year's supply of findings, the several things needed to make suspenders. He could have used the Pennsylvania but he preferred the Erie.

He told me his name and the names of his family and starting from there he covered Mansfield and his clubs and his business and his automobile, a White Steamer and the best thing then existent for local transportation. Regret I cannot remember his name. He had to talk to somebody and there was no one else in the Pullman smoker. Finally he began asking questions and learned that I was on my way to Panama to help build the canal. He was for the Canal and all of Teddy Roosevelt's works and wanted to give me a good start; so, he bought my meals and smokes for the rest of the trip. He had a feeling that malaria or yellow fever might get me before I could get back home.

When we got on the ferry boat at Jersey City he asked what hotel I had in mind. My idea was to go straight to the Battery where the Panama Railroad office was located and proceed from there, so I did not have a hotel in mind. He informed me that the Cadillac Hotel at Broadway and Forty-Third was the best hotel in the city for mid-western people such as we. He was going to meet those findings salesmen there. They would be very willing to entertain a visiting buyer and a friend. I had two days before sailing so why not come along to the Cadillac.

So we registered at the Cadillac and before very long he was in touch with his suppliers. He would be busy until late afternoon so I went down to the Panama Railroad office, completed all arrangements, stateroom assignment, received literature and instructions, and nothing more to do until sailing time. Back at the Cadillac the entertainment was getting under way, a trip to Coney Island was being planned and I was cordially invited. This was really a thrilling experience for me as we took in Coney from end to end. We got back to the

hotel in the small hours of the morning and my friend called me for breakfast about seven a. m. He wanted to feed me on broiled blue fish.

He had further business that morning with his suppliers and I needed fresh air and exercise. So, I walked from the Cadillac to the Brooklyn Bridge, walked out and stood on the bridge for a time, and walked back to the hotel. After a sandwich, I went to my room and lay down, fully dressed, on the bed, intending to rest until dinner time. When I awakened in darkness and found my watch it was two o'clock and I was much relieved when the office told me that it was 2 a. m. on September 6. I undressed and put in a call for seven a. m. Next morning I found my friend from Mansfield at breakfast, eating sea food, thanked him for all his kindness and promised to do a good job on the canal. He had called my room the evening before but could get no answer. My ship was due to sail at noon so I was soon on my way to the Pier 57 in North River.

Sailing For Panama.

That was, of course, my first ocean voyage. S. S. Panama was about 6,000 tons, one of the two larger vessels of the P. R. R. fleet. She had a full cargo of goods and materials, mostly for the Canal Commission and passenger quarters fully occupied. John Burke, Canal Commission Storekeeper, had his wife and daughter; there were four Catholic Nuns. Five or six professional women, bound for the Navajoh in Panama. All the rest were men, mostly young men, clerks and engineers and mechanics on their way to fight malaria and dirt and begin to dig the canal. Captain Browning, an old sea dog and proud of it, announced regulations and privately passed the word among men that any one becoming disorderly would be flung in the brig. There was a hilarious party the evening before landing but order and decency prevailed.

I spent most of my time up in the bow looking for flying fish, porpoises, light houses and passing vessels, not only during the day but late into the night. Passing through the Bahamas toward Windward Channel I saw Watlings Island, or San Salvador and other islands. I could not get enough of the sea

air and the sea view. I had no inclination to sea sickness when we ran into rough weather in the Caribbean. I had a good sunburn and a good appetite.

Upon arrival in Colon we heard about malaria and yellow fever and other dangers on the Isthmus; some of the boys, who were possessed of $90 in gold, bought passage to New York and returned on the same ship. Most of them, however, like myself, were looking forward to adventure. I could not have been induced to return at that time.

Colon, Formerly Aspinwall, Headquarters of Panama Railroad.

Mr. Bierd was at his desk in the old stone and cement building on the water front that had been the home of the railroad for many years. He was snowed under with paper work, as he had been on an inspection trip for several days, but he took an hour to tell me what was going on and what he wanted me to do. Retrieving my baggage and finding a boy to carry them over to the Washington Hotel, I went there to register, signed an order authorizing deduction from my pay for meals and lodging. The manager and proprietor was P. Canavaggio. He gave me scant attention. The place was full and he had no need for more guests. He called a toothless hag named Lena, several times before she appeared, and told her in English to find for this gentleman suitable quarters. Then followed spirited conversation in Spanish but Lena lost the argument and led me away up the stairs to the balcony. There she began exploring a number of rooms which appeared to be fully occupied. Finally in a room containing three beds, one of them recently vacated and unmade, she was of the opinion that one of the others was available because the man had gone to the hospital, so, happily that would be mine. She was mistaken because during the night another gentleman came in and claimed the bed in which I was sleeping but he compromised by taking the unmade one. I could see that life in Colon was going to be interesting and that one would have to be assertive to get the necessities. At the office next morning I became acquainted with Mr. R. Yung, a German, with command of several languages, especially Spanish, including Panamanian Spanish. Mr. Yung had been in charge of the office for many years and he was very well informed about

shipping matters, relationships with steamship lines, shipping papers and customs clearances. He also had detailed knowledge of the company's real estate holdings on the Isthmus and its many tenants. Mr. Yung was a busy man and very meticulous. He was not quick to pick up the new connections of the railroad relating to the canal building; that was going to be my job.

I asked Mr. Yung for advice about getting quarters at the Washington Hotel or elsewhere. He said, "Ah that pig Canavaggio, We shall fix that." So he rang up Mr. C. on the telephone and told him a number of things in rapid fire Spanish, probably reminding him that he was a tenant of the Panama Railroad. Then Mr. Yung gave me a note and asked me to present it to Mr. C. quickly before he had time to forget what Mr. Yung had just told him. I went back to the hotel and Mr. C. personally conducted me to a nice private room which was to be mine from that time on.

At the Washington we had "coffee" between 6 and 8 in the morning. This meant coffee, fruit juice, maybe a banana, maybe a piece of toast; a very light breakfast. Breakfast was at 11 o'clock in the morning; and this meal usually began with soup, then there would be fish and some kind of meat, something like a light lunch. After breakfast was supposed to be "siesta"; at least it had been before the canal crowd began to upset things. It was really not conducive to good health to go out in the hot noon-day sun to work. Dinner would be after six and continue until eight and it was supposed to be good for the health to have a cocktail or two and some wine during dinner.

At the railroad office we went to work between 7 and 8 in the morning and broke off for breakfast about 11. We Americans would always be hungry after such a light morning meal. We did not go in for the siesta and would be back at the office about one o'clock. We would get away between five and six in the evening, if possible, so that we would have time for a shower and a cocktail before dinner. Mr. Bierd used to call staff meetings in the evening and talk business for a couple of hours. On the whole this routine was too strenuous for white men in the tropics; we even went to the office on Sundays. We had to carefully guard against malaria,

sleep under mosquito netting always, carry quinine tablets or keep them handy in our sleeping rooms.

Some of them took quinine regularly as a preventative. It seemed to me that this impaired its effective potency when malaria came. My practice was not to take it until I felt that temperature was rising or that languid feeling was present; then I took substantial doses for about six hours. I did not have to go to the hospital or miss a day at work on account of malaria for the two years I worked on the Isthmus. My roommate, after we moved into the cottage on the beach, W. G. Tucker, took quinine as a preventative, and he had four or five attacks of malaria which put him in the hospital where he was given intra-venous injections of liquid quinine. He could take nothing in his stomach until his temperature was reduced to normal.

Our Cottage On The Beach.

When I went to Colon and put up at the Washington, Mr. Bierd and his wife Maude were living in the President's House, on Manzanillo Point. Ralph Budd and his family and Lieutenant Robert E. Wood and family were living in the cottages near the President's House. One of these cottages, probably the one which Lieut. Wood occupied for a time, became available and was assigned to Tucker and me for a mess in which we could accommodate six or eight Panama Railroad officers for meals and Tucker and I and two or three others had sleeping quarters there. This cottage faced Limon Bay; there was a lighthouse on Manzanillo Point not more than fifty yards from our veranda; this light and the one on Toro Point across Limon Bay were the markers for vessels approaching Colon Harbor. This was a delightful place to live in the dry season, December and January, and it was better than most quarters on the Isthmus, except perhaps on Ancon Hill in Panama, even during the depth of the rainy season.

I was the mess manager and with the aid of a retired dining car cook from St. Louis we had very good meals. This cook was extravagant and probably took a cut from the tradesmen, other than the Commissary, but the net cost of the meals was not too much out of line. House servants were plentiful and cheap so we had no trouble keeping the place clean and

tidy. We did not have much social life, in the first place we were too busy and there were not many people in position to entertain. We went to three or four events at the Tivoli Hotel in Panama when visiting celebrities were there. For these we had to stay overnight, it was always an occasion for riotous celebration. We just could not take it and keep up with our work at the office.

For example the New Years' Ball at the Culebra Club, December 31, 1906. Patronesses Mesdames Squiers, Gorgas, Bierd, Bolich, Shannon, Maguire, Stewart. These were the wives of the top men on the Isthmus and attendance was mandatory; everybody was there and on New Year's Eve nearly everybody was tight. Another invitation; El Presidente de la Republica y La Senora de Amador Guerrero, tienen el honor de invitai * * * en honor * * * Ministro de la Guerra—Don William H. Taft * * * de la casa Presidencial—a las 9 de la noche. Panama Abril 1, de 1907. The biggest event of all was the visit of President Theodore Roosevelt to the Isthmus in November 1906. This deserves a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XII

Our Job on the Panama Railroad

The Americans had moved into the Canal Zone in 1904. The engineers under John F. Stevens were to decide the major question; would they build a sea-level or a lock canal? Certain things had to be done, in any event, before construction work could begin on any kind of canal. First, the drainage, sanitation, water supply, housing, hospitals and commissaries. Second, docks, wharves, warehouses and transport facilities to receive and handle the machinery, equipment, materials and supplies; and, shops in which to assemble and repair steam shovels, dredges, other machines and railroad equipment. Third, roads, streets, railroad yards and facilities; to relocate the Panama Railroad and double track and otherwise improve it. These things could be done, and had to be done as soon as possible, without regard to the type of canal.

When I arrived in Colon in September 1905 the Canal Commission had been re-organized, Stevens had succeeded Wallace as Chief Engineer; it was known on the Isthmus that the Engineers favored a lock type canal. The Canal Commission reported in favor of a Lock Canal on February 5, 1906 and Congress authorized the Lock Canal, as planned, June 29, 1906.

The railroad had to provide port facilities for receiving the material and equipment and this work was going at full speed in the Colon-Cristobal Area. Relocation work was in progress in several places. The Sanitary Department under Colonel Gorgas was at work all over the Isthmus, draining, spraying oil, cleaning out vegetation, building hospitals, recruiting doctors and nurses, they had already made great progress and this problem was about to be licked. The housing plans of the Canal Commission were going at full speed, buildings were going up everywhere, office buildings, hotels, store houses, barracks and residences; this construction was generally tropical type wooden buildings with verandas. The railroad transported all of this material.

The railroad was expected to provide everything in the way of transportation, except hauling the dirt out of the canal cuts. The main line of the railroad was later used in some places by the Canal Trains hauling excavated material to the dumping grounds.

Colon Harbor was a busy place. The railroad had one tug boat to do all the towing in the Colon-Cristobal area. I had charge of filling orders for towing service using some black boys who could run with written orders. One day Captain Maltby, the engineer in charge of the Atlantic entrance to the canal, called me on the telephone asking that the tug come at eleven o'clock to move a barge as he would direct the Captain on arrival there. Another call came as I hung up the phone which took me into other troubles. About noon Maltby called to ask where was that - - - tug boat? I answered hastily that we would try to get it there as soon as possible; he said it better be sooner than that. I was lucky in locating the tug nearby and got it started toward the waiting barge. Next morning I was called on the carpet and there sat Maltby; about 6 feet 2 inches, black hair, black eyes, black moustache of the drooping type, thin, lean and tough. Everything about him was bristling as I came in. Bierd said calmly "Captain Maltby says that he called for the tug yesterday and we promised to send it, but he had to call a second time and it came more than an hour late; what do you know about this?" I said "I know that Captain Maltby is right. When he called the first time, I had another call as soon as he hung up and I forgot to order the tug until he called again." Then the Captain raised up to his full height and said "You needn't say another - - - word. If you forgot it and admit it was your fault that is all right. You probably won't do that again" and with that he stalked out. It pays to come clean and tell the truth. I knew he was prepared to murder me if there was any alibi talk.

In this period of preparation and planning the railroad had a leading role and General Manager Bierd was the key figure. A new office building was erected near the Colon water front about midway between the old office and the Washington Hotel. We probably moved to the new quarters prior to my vacation in September 1906. Upon my return I

was appointed Local Auditor to succeed M. Delavante and W. G. Tucker was appointed chief clerk to General Manager to succeed me.

I Am Appointed Local Auditor.

At that time the office of Local Auditor had two major problems. One was the accounting for expenditures for additions and improvements to the railroad property and settlement of accounts for services performed for the Canal Commission largely in the field of construction work done by the railroad not incident to rail transportation. Many items of this character were involved in red-tape negotiations with the Government Disbursing officer. Decisions were frequently made in the field to have railroad forces carry out track construction and other jobs for the Canal work; in some cases the authority for the expenditure as well as accuracy of the charges was in question. The other problem had to do with the operation and the accounting of the Commissary and the collection from the Canal Commission of the money deducted by it for Coupon Books issued to Canal employes. Of course, the Government owned the railroad and was the "digger" of the canal but we had to account for the money and keep the record straight.

As to the Commissary, all the bills for supplies purchased had to be audited and approved for payment in my office and paid by the Treasurer of the Railroad. The Commissary was not allowed to sell for cash but only to certified holders of Coupon Books. These coupon books were issued by the paymasters of the several divisions of the Canal Administration and by the railroad officers to railroad employes. Each employe signed a deduction slip and also signed his name to an identification certificate on the inside of the cover of the book.

The purpose of the certificate was to prevent use of coupons (not good if detached) by unauthorized persons. The employes of the stores were busy and not inclined to question the identity of customers. Susie Jones might be the maid for Mrs. Sullivan or the cook for Mr. Jackson, properly in possession of the coupon book. It was not feasible to examine such people. The fact is that the illicit traffic in coupon books became rather extensive, despite numerous directives to the

employes. They would draw coupon books, sell them at a discount for cash to use in entertainment and the buyer could use them at par to purchase goods at prices lower than the market in Panamanian stores. The commissary could import goods into the Canal Zone free of import duties and fixed its selling prices on a cost basis, not including anything for rental of stores nor for profit. This coupon traffic was the subject of complaint and investigation but it seemed to be an inherent evil of the system.

The Commissary remitted all detached coupons, in bulk, to the Local Auditor for credit and he had to collect the value thereof from the Canal Commission and the railroad. It was at first assumed that the Disbursing Officer would pay over to the railroad the full amount of the deductions withheld from employes for coupon books issued but he declined; he did not have that money in his possession. He ruled that he would pay for coupons presented to him and required that such coupons be assorted and identified with each book issued by number. So that is what we did, sort the coupons and assemble them by book numbers and then list them, one by one, for payment. In this way the Government retained the money that had been deducted for all coupons that were lost or not presented by the owner of the book.

Most of my second year on the Isthmus was devoted to making settlements with the Government, for coupons, for construction accounts and for transportation service performed; in the latter account the steamship service was involved. A basic policy developed from experience was never to question or argue about the rulings of the Disbursing Officer, presumably based on the regulations of the United States Treasury, as he understood them. If he required a certain form of certificate, a certain statement of detail, a reference to the authorization, we submitted whatever we could find conforming to the request. If he asked questions we answered them directly and truthfully and never volunteered anything not asked for. It was really surprising how well this method worked. The Disbursing Officer had to comply with the forms prescribed; he did not finally have to question the substance unless he had reason to suspect something wrong.

This year of 1906-1907, as Local Auditor, was an experience highly educational and useful to me in future years. It was not easy, in fact, it was exceedingly difficult for one of my relative inexperience in accounting problems. It involved long hours of work and study and the faithful assistance of several experienced men in my office.

Theodore Roosevelt Visits the Canal.

One morning in February 1906 President Theodore Roosevelt arrived in Limon Bay, aboard the battleship Louisiana, for an inspection trip of the works on the Isthmus. We had due notice of his plans and elaborate preparations had been made. The ship's launch was to carry the party from the Louisiana to the Cristobal Dock about eight o'clock in the morning. The train with the office car attached would be standing on the dock track so that the President could quickly transfer from the launch to the train. My friend Tucker, then chief clerk to the General Manager, was to go out in the railroad launch to the Louisiana, deliver mail if any, and offer to carry any message or person ashore. He reported that he had nothing to carry either way and did not see anyone but the officer in charge of the landing stage. My job was to take the President's Flag to the Cristobal Dock, before the President arrived there, present the flag to the Marine Officer in charge there who would have it raised on the flag pole and again lowered at the proper times, and hand the flag back to me. Then I would board the train and on arrival at Panama, where the President would stay over night, deliver the flag to the Army Officer who would be there to receive it. All of this worked out as planned except that, at Panama as I remember, the Army had already provided itself with a flag and declined to receive mine.

The President wanted to "see the dirt fly." He visited several steam shovels and working places all along the line. Photographs show him climbing up on a steam shovel, riding on an inspection car in the Culebra Cut, and walking through the mud in several places with several other men trying to keep up with him. On the return trip the Presidential Party was entertained at dinner, at the Panama Railroad president's house, by Stevens and Bierd. Tucker and I had the honor of

dining the newspaper men and correspondents in our mess nearby. We did not try for ceremony but we had plenty of good food and drink and asked our guests to relax and enjoy themselves which they were glad to do.

When I left the Rock Island in September 1905, Robert Brown was working there in the office. While in Panama a letter came to me from Melcher of the Rock Island asking if we could use Brown in our work. Of course we needed dependable men for all kinds of work so I wrote to Bob instructing him to report in New York, present the letter and get passage to the Isthmus where he would be employed by the Panama Railroad. In due course Bob arrived in Colon. On the voyage he became acquainted with a Mr. Fenn, of the Union Oil Company, who was coming down to build a pipe line across the Isthmus. Fenn asked Bob to go with him to set up his office in Panama and look after his business there while Fenn was locating the pipe line and organizing construction in the field. This was a fine opportunity for Bob so we arranged to let him pay for his passage and released him. Bob continued with Fenn in Panama until the pipe line was completed and in operation and after that transferred to the Union Oil Company in California. I did not see him again until 1922.

John F. Stevens Goes to The New Haven Railroad.

Early in 1907 during my second year on the Isthmus, the plans for constructing an 85 foot level lock canal had been completed and the work had been organized pursuant to that plan. Probably, the major part of the equipment and materials had been ordered and were coming to the Isthmus as needed for the program. Probably Mr. Stevens wanted to be relieved from further service on the Isthmus. It may be that "dirt was not flying fast enough" to please President Roosevelt. In any event, Stevens was elected Vice President of the New Haven Railroad in the summer of 1907 and General George W. Goethals became the Chief Engineer and Chief Administrator of the Canal Construction. Several of the men who had gone to the Isthmus with Stevens, including Bierd and Ed Shannon, elected to follow him to New Haven.

A word here about the Lock Canal. It was reported that excavations from the canal measured about 350 million cubic yards. The cost was $388 millions, of which $275 millions was charged to commercial use and $113 millions to national defense. Construction of a sea level canal would have required additional excavation of a mass 85 feet deep and 300 feet wide for a distance of about 35 miles, which, together with the additional width of the slopes, would have measured more than 500 million additional cubic yards. Probably the landslides and caving of the slopes would have been very much greater because of this greater depth of excavation. Many other problems could be foreseen which would have added extensively to the time and the cost of construction. The cost of the locks was a material item but the power installation at Gatun supplies power for the entire canal operation. The idea of uniting the waters of two great oceans, severing two continents and saving nearly eight thousand miles of ocean travel for coast wise ships, was one that fired the imagination and the activity of thousands of men.

My position as Local Auditor was not involved in reorganization in the summer of 1907 but when my vacation came about September First and Harley Stuntz was assigned to take care of my office during my absence for six weeks I told him and my superior in New York that I would probably not return to the Isthmus. My vitality was running low; it seemed to have been impaired by the tropical climate. The Panama Railroad accounting officer in New York said that decision might be deferred until my vacation ended and suggested that I talk with them at that time. I traveled to Chicago, to visit my family in Montana and stopped at Creston, Iowa to visit the Gentle family on the way back. I then went to New Haven to see Mr. Bierd. He had invited me to come and I expected him to offer me employment. I stayed in New Haven several days and saw a lot of Mr. Bierd; we talked about the Canal and the New Haven and many other things except my personal plans. Finally I said that my vacation was ending and I would have to return to Panama in a few days; at least I had promised to see the Panama Railroad people in New York. He then offered me a place in the General Managers office at $175 a month; that was not as good as $300 a

month in Panama but life on the Isthmus no longer seemed like an alluring adventure; certainly there was not much prospect of advancement in the field of accounting in the service of the United States Government. I wanted to get back into the railroad business and here was an opportunity to study it from a new vantage point in a new field of action.

CHAPTER XIII

I Am Married and Move to New Haven

Father and Mother were in good spirits and all of my brothers and sisters were at home in Great Falls. Father was appointed Deputy Sheriff of Cascade County in 1907 and Deputy Clerk of the Court in 1909. Larrie was working in the Great Falls office or in the bank. Van was graduating from high school and preparing to go to University of Michigan if he could get a little financial assistance. Bert was working in Great Falls and the children were in school. The John Smiley Marshalls were on the ranch in the Judith Basin. My mother's relatives, the Hutchinsons, were living in Missoula and probably some of them were still employed on the Northern Pacific. My good friend, later brother-in-law Edward Gentle was progressing with the Rock Island road. Gray Adams, who worked with me in Chicago and Rock Island was going along with the Rock Island. When I visited the Gentle Family in Creston I asked Grace Mona Gentle to marry me and the date was set for December 27, 1907. I had saved a considerable part of my earnings in Panama and was prepared to pay cash for furniture and home equipment and that was the best thing I ever did.

This story began with the statement that it seemed necessary and proper to record, as best I could remember, the facts about my ancestors and my early life in Montana. It is certain that these facts would be lost and forgotten in large part unless written down by the only person that now has any recollection of them. The story has now covered, in considerable detail, the first twenty seven years of my life.

When December 27 was approaching and I was very busy in New Haven working on statistics and conferring with Mr. Bierd nearly every day, I reminded him that it would be necessary for me to leave for Creston, Iowa, in time to arrive there before the time set for the wedding. Well, as usual, he made no definite answer until the subject was mentioned again in more appealing terms. He seemed to consider the matter at

great length and came up with the suggestion that I could send for my bride, have her come to New Haven, as she would be coming there anyway, and we would have the wedding in New Haven. I was sorry to disappoint him but that wedding was going to be in Creston, Iowa and I would be present if that was the last thing I ever did. He traded for time and I departed on the last train that would get me there and promised to return directly to New Haven on the first train leaving Creston after the ceremony. That is the way my railroad life has been for many years.

The New Haven Railroad.

Charles S. Mellon was President of the New Haven in 1907. He was intent on building up a monopoly of transportation in New England. The New England Steamship line, several electric urban and suburban lines had been acquired and the New Haven had purchased a block of stock in the Boston and Maine with intent to control and operate that railroad in a common interest with New Haven. It was thought that John F. Stevens would become President of the Boston and Maine within a short time.

The New Haven had completed electrification of its line from Stamford to Grand Central a few years before and was planning extension of the electric zone to New Haven. The Grand Central Station was being rebuilt and enlarged. These and other developments were under direction of Vice President E. H. McHenry, an engineer of some prominence. Mr. Mellon was talking with the Pennsylvania Railroad management about a plan to build a bridge across the Hell Gate, put some of the New Haven trains into the new Penn Station, extend the line across Long Island to Bay Ridge and float the freight business across the Narrows to Greenville, in lieu of the then existing route from Harlem River to Greenville via the East River. These were ambitious plans and involved the expenditure of millions of dollars. History records that the Boston and Maine control was blocked by the state of Massachusetts. In due time the Hell Gate bridge was built and the electrification extended. The New Haven passenger trains could run through from Boston to Washington without stopping except to change power at Sunnyside and to handle pas-

sengers at Penn Station. A few years later the New Haven was investigated by a Congressional Committee and finally staggered under its load and became bankrupt. Mr. Stevens left within two years and Mr. Bierd soon followed to take a job as Vice President and General Manager of the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad at Minneapolis.

Weighing The United States Mails.

I was in the transportation department of the New Haven and gathered much knowhow about the operation of terminals, the operation of commuter train service at both New York and Boston, helped to make time tables, checked the operation of freight houses and yards from a statistical standpoint. My first assignment outside this field was to make a study of the cost of transporting and handling United States mail. Howard Palmer, who later became President of the New Haven, was assigned by the accounting department and I was assigned by the operating department to work under the direction of Vice President Campbell, Traffic Department and Counsel E. G. Buckland. Palmer and I working together developed the space method of dividing passenger train expenses between passenger, mail and express traffics. We measured all the space in the trains, by means of written reports, from trainmen or supervisors, distributed all the passenger train expenses, checked the costs of handling mail at terminals and developed a statement of allocated costs in comparison with the amounts being paid by the Post Office Department for carrying the mail. As we suspected there was a large loss. Our next step was to work out some way to get the Post Office Department interested in the space basis of pay or otherwise to obtain fair compensation.

The Postal Laws and Regulations provided for test-weighing the mail during a selected month once every four years. The Post Office Department determined the average weight in pounds per mile on each mail route; the regulations prescribed rates of pay per mile of route per annum based on the average pounds per mile. The compensation thus determined was applied for the four years following the year of the weighing. The New Haven contended that this basis of com-

pensation was inadequate primarily for two reasons; first, projecting the weights four years in the future failed to allow for the normal annual increase and second, the rates had been fixed many years before and failed to allow for increased costs. The New Haven tried to convince the Department that the mail should be weighed at least once each year and that the Department had authority to do this if it wanted to. The Department insisted that the established practices could not be changed without an act of Congress, besides the Department did not believe that any change was necessary; it would cost considerable money to weigh every year and the railroads as a whole were being fairly compensated under the existing practices. I remember going to Washington with Campbell and Buckland to see the Assistant Post Master General whose name was Joseph Stewart. We had talked the matter over among ourselves and it seemed to me that Mr. Stewart would have great difficulty in finding any reason to deny the justice of our contentions. We found Mr. Stewart was a Southern Gentleman with long black hair, a high starched collar, long tailed coat and striped pants. He seemed very affable and good natured. He listened with great patience to all that was said, chiefly by Buckland, our lawyer; he never interrupted until we had finished. He then said that of course Mr. Buckland knew that the Department was guided by the Postal Laws and the Regulations which had the force of law and that the Department was very careful to comply with the letter and the spirit of the law. There was nothing he could do toward changing any of these practices. So then we threw our hand grenade, Mr. Stewart was informed that the New Haven had decided to weigh the United States mails carried on its railroad, at its own expense. Mr. Stewart said that would certainly be a waste of time and effort as the Department would continue to pay compensation based on its own four year weighing. Mr. Buckland insisted that the Department's position was arbitrary, unfair and not supported by law, the New Haven would weigh the mail in order to prove that it was entitled to be paid for the increase over the four year basis. Mr. Stewart was not in the least disturbed; the Department would not allow the New Haven to weigh the mail; he would not advise the New Haven management to under-

take it. That was my first contact with a bureaucrat; he was just as co-operative as an ice-berg; he knew his business and could not be interested in any thing not in the book.

We returned to New Haven and made elaborate preparations for weighing the mail as it was loaded and unloaded all over the railroad; we had to buy scales and install them in the station platforms so as to weigh the mail trucks without delay. As soon as we were ready with all equipment and blank forms Mr. Buckland wired Stewart that we would begin at midnight on a certain day and we did begin as stated. In a day or two Mr. Stewart wired us to cease and desist. We answered that we would continue as we believed that we had a right to do so. Next came a letter from the Department saying that reports from our territory told of interruption and delay in moving the United States Mail and if we persisted we would be stopped by appropriate legal action. Then a day or two later the United States Marshals appeared at some stations and stated that any one attempting to impede the movement of mail trucks would be arrested.

Mr. Campbell asked me to go down to the New Haven station and have myself restrained by force from weighing mail. The Marshal with his badge in view was standing by the scale, the trucks were moving across the scale without being weighed. I got in front of a truck and tried to hold it on the scale, the men pushing saw me and hesitated. The Marshal tapped me on the shoulder, told me to get out of there or be arrested, took me by the arm and pulled me out of the way and motioned the truck ahead. I gave him my name and he informed me that he had authority to stop the mail weighing; he would arrest anyone attempting to delay the regular movement of the United States mail. I was able to report to Mr. Campbell that we had been stopped by force from weighing the mails and we had better call our men off all over the railroad.

We had actually weighed the mail for nearly a week and had made an accurate record. We compiled the weights and computed the results as the Post Office would have done. We had a substantial increase over the last quadrennial weighing about two years earlier. The New Haven management told the world about it. Palmer and I followed up our space basis

of compensation; we worked out rates per lineal foot of space used that would return our costs plus a fair measure of profit. We stated our formulae in simple terms and told how it could be applied to determine compensation fairly every month based on the space actually used, or ordered, by the Department. Under our plan the Department would specify the space it wanted on each train and that is what it would pay for. The New Haven management began to sell this idea to other railroads, the Post Office Department, and to Congress. The moral of this story is that the space basis of pay was adopted and is still in use; it was inaugurated several years after I left the New Haven; probably after 1920.

The Hell Gate Bridge.

Another assignment was the Hell Gate Bridge. President Mellon was meeting President McCrea of the Pennsylvania frequently to discuss participation in this joint undertaking. Each had a retinue of Vice Presidents, Engineers, Accountants and Statistical compilers. We met in the Board Room at Grand Central (this was the old station); lunch was served at the conference table, usually champagne was poured. Mellon with his shiny bald head and McCrea with his ponderous mien and whiskers would converse during luncheon for the entertainment of their subordinates. In other words they would needle each other and wax humorous; in this game Mellon was a master and McCrea was usually the slow speaking victim. But the real purpose of these meetings was a serious business matter. I think the two Presidents knew the project would have to be carried forward; there may have been dissenters on both Boards of Directors; but we were discussing it as if we were free to approve or disapprove the proposal as it then stood before us.

The New Haven was at that time running its passenger trains to Grand Central and had entered into a new contract with the New York Central to enlarge and rebuild that Terminal. One train, the Federal Express, carried overnight sleeping cars between Boston and Washington and this was known as the Steamer Maryland route. The sleeping cars were placed aboard the Maryland at Harlem River, floated down the East River and around to Jersey City, there pulled

ashore and attached to the Pennsylvania Railroad train for Washington; the same operation in the opposite direction. Aside from this through service, all New England-Washington passengers had to transfer between Grand Central and Jersey City, or later Thirty Third Street Penn Station.

The New Haven freight business interchanged with the Pennsylvania was floated between Harlem River and Greenville, or Jersey City. This was the largest interchange with a western connection; that at Maybrook-Poughkeepsie Bridge was second and growing. The Maybrook route was not the best for the territory served by the P. R. R., especially the Southeast via Potomac Yards, Virginia.

The proposed plan provided for the construction of a railroad across Hell Gate to connect with the Long Island R. R. at Sunnyside, entrance to the tunnel to Penn Station; and, a freight line across Long Island to Bay Ridge on New York Bay opposite Greenville. Thus several New Haven passenger trains could run direct to Penn Station and through to the South and West over the P. R. R. while the great majority of the New Haven passengers, including the commuters, would continue to use Grand Central. The New Haven freight business for interchange with the Pennsylvania would be floated across the Narrows, about three miles instead of through the East River, a congested route, about fourteen miles. The New Haven would continue to float freight cars from Harlem River for other connecting lines and local stations in New York Harbor.

The questions we had to answer were what would it cost to operate and maintain the new railroad facilities and what would the New Haven save, if anything, by making the change? This was a statistical study of considerable magnitude. It required a tremendous amount of original research to determine the costs of the existing operations, separate from functions that would not be affected by the change. The cost of the floating service had to be determined and then re-stated to exclude the cost applicable to the Pennsylvania interchange; the cost of the float service across the Narrows had to be estimated. The cost of operating freight trains over a non-existent railroad between Harlem River and Bay Ridge and the cost of operating the Bay Ridge freight terminal and

float bridges. Finally we had to inquire into the intentions of the P. R. R. as to whether they expected to be paid for the use of the Long Island Railroad, the Penn Station and Tunnel. We completed our studies as far as we could go and then conferred with the P. R. R. statisticians. Our figures showed that the New Haven would lose a lot of money; their figures showed that the New Haven would at least break even and eventually reap great profits. We spent much time clearing details and getting closer together on several elements of the study. Then we were all called to a meeting with the Presidents.

Mr. Campbell instructed me to keep silent unless he asked me a question; he said he knew the P. R. R. people would stretch things in trying to sell their ideas and Mr. Mellon knew this too; so we did not need to fight them in the meeting. They brought in figures different from those which we had seen; Mr. Campbell had our figures before him, but he kept silent and let Mr. Mellon do the talking. After the meeting we would have instructions to review the P. R. R. figures which meant another meeting with their statistical group. They would agree with many of our criticisms, they would agree to restate certain conclusions; we would report back to Mr. Campbell and restate the whole matter as we understood it. At the next meeting of the Presidents they would take advantage of our watchful waiting policy to put over some more ideas of their own. These proceedings continued for several months and finally there was an agreement to prepare tentative contracts; the lawyers were called in. I believe we kept our people fully informed and they were in position to ask for safeguards to protect the New Haven position as far as possible. The New York Connecting Railroad was organized, the New Haven and the P. R. R. each taking half of its stock. Bonds were issued and sold to cover most of the construction cost. The cost of property and construction was much greater than the estimates. It was completed about the time the United States took possession of the railroads during World War I. (World Almanac says the Hell Gate railroad bridge was completed in 1917.) Looking backward there can be no doubt that this better railroad link between

New England and the National Capitol and the Southeastern states was justified in the public interest and in the interests of the participating railroads. For me the experience was thrilling, educational and rewarding.

My Training With New Haven.

When I was not working on special studies like those mentioned I had the opportunity to work with James O. Halliday who was the General Superintendent of Transportation of the New Haven. About twice a year the passenger train schedules of the New Haven, including the commuter services, had to be revised; at that time the commuter service at Boston was extensive; the engine runs and train crew runs were re-arranged; from planning to checking time table proofs this was a job for everybody in the transportation office and the division offices. We had a constant review and study of the freight services, including less-than-carload schedules and loading charts at stations; at that time there were practically no motor vehicles in over the road service—so the people used the railroad, or else. Special movements were arranged for the Yale-Harvard and other football games; as many as thirty or forty special trains would bring a football crowd into New Haven. All of this was transportation such as I had never before seen and it was being arranged by experts. It was like going to transportation school; it was even better because I was taking part, doing my share and knowing that my efforts were worth while. Moreover it was my first real lesson in the fundamentals of performing a public service. We knew that our service had to be acceptable, if not perfect. We had a monopoly of transportation in our territory, but that was just another reason why we had to have public support. We had to prove that one railroad was better than two could be in New England. It was a privilege to be associated with Jim Halliday in this work.

My experience in Panama and on the New Haven brought good training in the business of fact finding and reporting; especially the importance of lucid, concise expression of both facts and conclusions. Methodical investigation and clear presentation of facts will promote the solution of any problem; ignorance of facts leads to mistaken conclusions; pres-

sure of time and events invites ill-advised decisions. I learned to have a completely skeptical viewpoint behind a friendly attitude. The processes of comparison and contrast coupled with an accurate memory were becoming useful tools. My natural habit was to listen to others, reserving my own opinions; this is a good way to learn but there are times when one must speak. When another makes a statement with which one does not agree it is generally wise to tell him so. He may go and tell a third person that you agreed with him, or that you made the statement to him, unless you tell him plainly that you do not agree. Another reason for speaking is that one should always try to lead others away from the pit-falls of error.

I was becoming a specialist along certain lines and learning much about practical railroading; it seemed certain that further progress would lead me to further specialization. Mine was a staff position, more likely to be affected by top management changes than line positions. Such changes were frequent in the railroad world as I had reason to know. While considering this problem; the relative security of a line position in contrast to the more exciting and interesting, even though less secure, staff position; I was being invited by Bierd to join him in the great open spaces of the Northwest. This was like a siren call from my boyhood home; it had an inviting sound. As usual, Bierd did not offer an attractive salary; he seemed to feel that I would want to follow him to high places. Without trying to appraise all the reasons the fact is that I agreed to go to Minneapolis, with the title of Assistant to the General Manager, for less salary than I was then receiving; another staff position even less secure than the one in New Haven. However, the experience on the M. & St. L. turned out to be worth while in the development of ability and character.

As I left New Haven my training and education was deficient in several important respects. I was not a teacher, a leader, an organizer, a salesman. More interested in things than in people. Not quite aware that the basic principle of leadership must be an interest in other men and their welfare. Executive direction seemed to be automatic in the application of rules, orders and plans. Offenders were punished and this too was prescribed. Loyalty was taken for granted. This is

exaggerated but the deficiency existed in my mentality. Certainly I had much to learn about organization, selecting men, delegating authority and responsibility, promoting co-operation, disciplinary principles and salesmanship. It is not surprising that I had some things to learn at age 31.

I used to wonder why Bierd and other railroad men I had known always talked so much to their associates and subordinates. I learned that they were trying to teach, to train, to lead those men upon whom they would depend for the performance of the day's work. Men do not know what to do unless they are told; more than once.

CHAPTER XIV

The Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad

This was my first move as a family man. Before that all I had to do was pack my grip, pay my rent and walk out. Now we had a baby and household goods. Packing dishes in barrels, books in boxes, one big box (about three feet square) for quilts, blankets, pictures. Milk bottles and diapers, clothing to carry and clothing to ship. We decided that we would ship our things to Minneapolis and go to Creston, Iowa, to visit the Gentle family while our goods were in transit. Meanwhile I would be in Minneapolis finding a place to live and getting acquainted with my new office.

We had Pennsylvania Railroad passes from Jersey City to Chicago and had to transfer from Grand Central to Jersey City. I remember carrying son John in my arms from the ferry boat to the train; it was a cold, windy November day and that night John had the croup. We transferred to the Burlington in Chicago and next morning Grandpa and Grandma Gentle were on hand to welcome us. It was perhaps a month before we were ready to move into our new home in Minneapolis.

The M. & St. L. Railroad.

Moving from the New Haven to the M. & St. L. was something like moving from the Waldorf to Jack Pine Lodge. One could be happy either place but it was different. The New Haven was one of the best maintained and operated railroads in the country; the M. & St. L. very close to the opposite extreme. Some parts were in such poor maintenance condition as to be nearly impassable. The Main line from Minneapolis to Albert Lea was a fairly good railroad. The Iowa Central, then a separate corporation, extended from Albert Lea to Peoria, about 400 miles, and it was not well maintained.

A group headed by Edwin Hawley and Theodore Shonts controlled the Alton-Clover Leaf-M. & St. L.-Iowa Central, in

a common interest to some extent; there may have been some visionary plans for merger. The same group were also interested in the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway at that time. Each of the four western units had heavy indebtedness and there was not much traffic relationship between them, except between the M. & St. L. and Iowa Central. All of them became bankrupt in later years. The Clover Leaf failed when the Alton failed to pay dividends. Clover Leaf had purchased control of Alton stocks and issued collateral bonds to pay for it; Clover Leaf defaulted these bonds. The Alton is now a part of the Gulf Mobile and Ohio System. The Van Sweringens acquired the Clover Leaf and merged it with the Nickel Plate. The M. & St. L. and Iowa Central were merged.

The management of the M. & St. L. had been struggling for years to pay the fixed charges, probably using money that might have gone into maintenance. The interest and rentals amounted to about one-third of the gross revenues in 1914. On an inspection trip with Directors the office car was derailed near Aberdeen, South Dakota; they had difficulty in finding a solid place to rerail it. The other branches and parts of the Iowa Central, especially east of Oskaloosa had been undermaintained and derailments were frequent. Bierd's problem was to economize but spend more money on maintenance; going into bankruptcy to preserve the physical property was not contemplated.

One way to improve was to get more business. That meant giving better service to attract through or overhead business from highly competitive routes; we had no competitive advantages. Other railroads had direct single line routes between Chicago and Twin Cities, for example. Some competitive traffic might be gained through the Peoria Gateway from the directly tributary territory; this meant operating a dependable fast freight service all the way from Peoria to Minneapolis.

We had problems affecting maintenance of motive power and freight cars, inadequate shop facilities; everywhere we needed something better than what we had. My duty was to study and analyze the reports and explain the essence to Bierd when he came in from the road. More than once Bierd borrowed money from a Minneapolis bank to meet a pay roll. We

could borrow in the late summer and repay when the wheat crop moved; if there was no drought. As an illustration of extreme measures to maintain what little credit we had; one summer cross ties had been distributed along the line to South Dakota for extensive renewals. Bierd ordered the maintenance men to place these ties in track as rapidly as possible during the months of June and July, which was right, but he did not want them charged to expenses in those months when business was light. He asked me to arrange to carry these ties in inventory and charge them out as if used in the months of September and October. This was not easy to do but it was done carefully and quietly. There is nothing wrong about equalizing seasonal expenses or spreading them by an appropriate method over a longer period of time, but we did not begin soon enough.

After a year or two Bierd decided he had better get some relief in the outside supervision; he really needed a good outside operating man to keep after the operating and maintenance forces and help the two Division Superintendents. He was greatly troubled about the additional expense of putting on another man and hoped we would be able to offset the increase by making some other changes. So, it was in 1912 that Charles S. Lake, who had been a successful division superintendent on the New Haven, came to Minneapolis as General Superintendent. He recommended to Bierd that he release me to take the position of Superintendent of the Iowa Central division at Oskaloosa, Iowa.

I Am A Superintendent.

It came to pass in the year 1912, at the age of 32, my good fortune brought me to sit in the chair of the Division Superintendent. This was the goal upon which my vision was fixed in 1889. Here was a small office in the corner of the second floor of the passenger station; the chief clerk and our stenographer were in the other corner. At the other end of the second floor were the train dispatchers and the chief. In between were the timekeepers, pay roll and accounting clerks.

The condition of the track was the most important item on our program. We had to keep the trains on the track or go

out of business. We had a gasoline motor mounted on an ordinary hand car in a box extending from front to rear along the center. Four men including the motorman could sit on this box with feet on the deck. The Roadmaster, whom we called "Old John," the district track supervisor and Ed Bell, the telegraph lineman, who also was the motorman, went with me on my first trip over the entire division, including the branches. The car would run about 25 miles an hour, but we seldom traveled that fast, and we stopped frequently to examine bad spots. We could make 75 to 100 miles a day of 12 hours; the trip required a week. At night I would try to answer some of the mail sent in advance to our stop over points. We came back with an armful of notes about what we needed to make the track safe and dependable for the coming winter. This added up to a substantial number of cross ties, some rail, a large amount of ballast and labor enough to do the job. We were promptly told that we could have no more than half of this; we would have to take care of the worst places first and spread what we could get to the best advantage. It was up to us to avoid derailments by restricting train speed wherever necessary for safety. We probably got more money than the division had in recent prior years and some improvement might be achieved.

The train operation included one through passenger train —Minneapolis-St. Louis, each way daily between Albert Lea and Albia; local daylight passenger trains on all the main lines to carry the mail and express. These local trains were needed to serve the people along the line and carry men and supplies for operation of the railroad. Freight train operations were complicated by adverse grades against westbound traffic in each of the four freight train operating districts. A freight train fully loaded for one engine required a helper engine from London Mills to Berwick; from the Mississippi River to Oskaloosa; from Oskaloosa to Grinnell and from Marshalltown to Abbott. These helper engines assisted up the grade, cut off at the summit and returned light to the starting point. The westbound freight traffic was much heavier than the eastbound movement. These arrangements, designed to increase train loads and reduce the number of trains running on a single track, created a highly sensitive dispatching

job even if the railroad and equipment were in prime condition. The dispatching was done by Morse telegraph under time table rights and train orders; there were no control signals of any kind, except train order boards at telegraph stations. Both the trainmen and the dispatchers had to be good in their training and their morale.

Almost anything could happen and it did. Derailments were too frequent but not disastrous; the track was not good enough for high speed and the trainmen knew it. One Sunday soon after I came to Oskaloosa a westbound freight train had the front truck of a car derail about thirty miles east of Oskaloosa. The conductor said the truck frame was broken and it would be necessary to have another truck. There was no wrecking outfit closer than five hours. At Oskaloosa was a hand derrick mounted on a flat car with a spare truck normally loaded on the deck under the derrick. The dispatcher called a train crew and I went to the yard to see about getting the derrick started. The car had no truck on it but there was one on the ground alongside. The wrecking crew had been called but some of the men present (this being Sunday) undertook to operate the derrick and load the truck. They attached the cables and began to crank the derrick; when they had the truck about three feet off the ground it swung outward and the deck of the car tipped to an angle of 45 degrees; all the men jumped, the cables slacked, the truck descended to the ground and the car body fell back in place. The car was equipped with rail tongs which we had neglected to attach to the rails under the car; the tongs were then applied and the truck was easily loaded. The Superintendent should have been sitting in his office instead of standing there looking on.

On this single track railroad without signal controls it was highly important to strictly comply with the rules governing the operation of trains. A majority of the trainmen and engine men were seasoned veterans. They were versatile in meeting emergencies and expert in clearing derailments without waiting for the wrecking crew. Some were inclined to cut corners across strict rule compliance but they did so usually with good judgment.

Some accidents, other than those caused by mechanical failures, were traceable to rule violations. I reviewed these

cases with the Trainmasters and we determined to make some disciplinary examples of violations in cases where no accidents resulted. We moved with care but crossed up some of the influential men who began to talk about it. The disciplinary situation was becoming a little tense, when the General Superintendent, my friend Charles Lake, came in one morning from Minneapolis and we spent most of the day going over discipline cases. My crusade for rule enforcement was a necessary undertaking but we had to hold the good will of the men. It was necessary to temper justice with mercy; to be an understanding leader, not a petty tyrant. One could earn the respect of the men for fairness, justice and good will and be able to impose discipline on those who deserved it; the majority would applaud and support efforts to have a safer railroad. This was the gist of the lecture. It would be wise to do something to attract attention to a more tolerant attitude. As one step along that line Lake suggested, or I discovered, the anonymous pledge of faith that was framed and put on the wall of my office where every visitor could see it and read it at a distance. I could see it and be reminded of its meaning whenever there was occasion to talk about rule violations and discipline. This adage reads like this:

If there is any good that I can do
or any kindness that I can show
to any human being
let me do it NOW
let me not defer or neglect it
for I shall not pass this way again.

It was an inspiration to look at this motto while talking to a man about his misdeeds and get him to looking at it too. Having advertised this pledge by posting it in a public place I had to live up to it if I possibly could.

Most of the men on the division were Free Masons. It became known to me that Tri Luminar No. 18 A. F. & A. M. at Oskaloosa might accept me in membership. I sought this opportunity and before long it was arranged to administer the Third Degree. The lodge was full to overflowing with many visiting brothers. Nothing was omitted, I am sure, from the complete and solemn rites that raised me to a Master Mason.

I am still a member of this lodge by virtue of paying my dues for more than forty years but I have not been in a Masonic Lodge for so long that I would not know how to get in. When I left Oskaloosa in 1914 the old timers referred to me as "The Little Minister" when they presented me with a gold watch; they could not have said anything that would have pleased me more.

The grinding task of trying to operate a weak and physically difficult railroad went on night and day. Motive power shortages, equipment failures, congested yards, derailments. Many times I would stay on the job through one night and part of the second night, without rest. My children hardly knew me when I came home. Bill was born in May 1913, he would not let me take him up or hold him until after we left Oskaloosa in 1914. I was coming due for my second major lesson in conduct; that of delegating authority and keeping myself in condition to manage others.

I was at Marshalltown one afternoon trying to line up power for the night movement when Lake arrived on the local passenger train. I had not been in bed the preceding night and must have looked like a ghost. Lake hopped off the car, took a look at me and called me aside. "There is the office car, go over and tell Buck to put you to bed and stay there until you are rested."

I demurred but he threatened to become violent; so I went over and rolled into bed. When I awakened about nine the following morning the car was moving. I found Lake sitting in the observation end. We were moving east of Oskaloosa to pick up a wreck; we had the Marshalltown wrecking derrick with us. I had a good breakfast and sat down and Lake began his lecture; it continued with interruptions, until we finished picking up the wreck and were on our way back.

I had to change my ways and my habits and my attitude toward the job. His main point was that a leader, one in authority, must never appear tired or physically weak. He must be fresh, alert and active whenever he appears before those whom he would lead to greater effort. These railroad men were quick to notice signs of physical weakness. I would have to keep rested and strong and get stronger than I had been so that I would have force enough to demand attention and

strength to dominate the proceedings. Lake demanded my acknowledgment that I would begin at once to follow this advice which included spending more time at home with my family.

One day Lake and I were riding over the east end when we learned that the local freight engine was derailed blocking the main track two stations ahead. The local had been picking up a carload of live stock and as the engine headed out of the siding it derailed at the frog, ran on the ties toward the switch then dropped off the ties and buried the pony truck in the soft embankment. The frame of the engine tilted up so that the cab was high in the air over the frog; the main track and the siding were both blocked. We got over there on a freight train. The engine could not be rerailed by pulling it backward without jacking up the front end. The quickest way to get traffic moving was to cut the main track both sides of the block, throw it over and build a connecting track to form a shoo-fly around the block. About sun-set the men and tools had been assembled, one crew started jacking up the front end of the engine, the other grading for the run around track. (We did not have a wrecking derrick nearer than 125 miles from the accident—some six or seven hours distant.) Lake planted himself at the telegraph office where he could keep in touch with the railroad. Presently he came down to the switch and invited me to dinner, the lady operator had prepared a meal. Then he asked me in a loud voice "Now, Boss, what time do you think we can pass trains around this place?" and I announced plainly "We move trains around here at midnight." "Good" said he, and then sotto voice "come on let's eat."

When I returned to the switch the grading was moving slowly. The Roadmaster and I went over the whole layout; we could use cross ties to crib up the outer end of the track ties. The final effort was to get the track firm enough to support traffic. A little after midnight Lake appeared on the scene, walked back and forth and in a loud voice, as if talking to himself, criticised everything; what he said about the work that had been done was not fit to print. He complained loudly not addressing any one in particular and stalked off in the darkness. In less than a half hour the track was tamped

firmly and I sent a messenger to Lake to let the trains move. Very soon the first train pulled by from the west and Lake's office car was on the rear; he was probably already in bed.

We still had a lot of work to do, the engine was about ready on solid blocking and was soon rerailed. Trains cleared the run around in both directions and we could tear it out and restore the track to normal condition. We loaded our men and material and moved into Monmouth long after daylight.

I caught an eastbound freight and dropped off at a meeting point to board Lake's car attached to a westbound freight. He was sitting up in bed reading and called me in. He was cheerful and smiling. "Good morning, Son. Did you rerail that engine?" "Was she damaged?" "Did you find the cause of the derailment? Did you put the main track back in place?" To these questions I answered that the local engine was rerailed and pulled its own train into Monmouth. We found the cause of derailment and corrected it, tore out the shoo fly, put the main track and siding back in good condition, the whole place was in better condition than it was before the derailment. "Fine. That's the way to do things. Let's have some lunch."

I said that I would like to ask some questions and he said "shoot." "Last night the men, including some trainmen, were working with sore hands, sore backs and empty stomachs when you came down and stomped back and forth and criticized everything in sight, I never heard anything so profane and downright mean, and I have heard plenty. What was the idea, if I might be so bold as to ask?" He lay back on the pillows and laughed loud and long, he had only one idea in mind, he said, that was to get the job finished. When he left the picks and shovels were swinging rapidly, much faster than when he came, and whether I knew it or not the job was finished about thirty minutes earlier than it would have been if he had not put some pep in those boys. I knew it was another lesson for me in the art of supervision.

We had reported four or five derailments of the engine tenders on passenger trains; the forward engine tender truck would hop off and run on the ties, the engineman would stop, a rerailer would be placed and the engine would pull the derailed truck back on the rails. All concerned would be cautioned to control speed, place slow orders on soft or rough

places. This did not happen to freight engines. These tenders seemed susceptible to derailment; they were high and short and when water was partly used it might slosh around and upset equilibrium, but this epidemic was evidently caused by subnormal track conditions. One day the local passenger train southbound toward Albia derailed approaching a switch on the outside of a curve; the engine tender went down the spur track and turned over and the baggage car lay on its side; no one was seriously hurt. The forward truck of the tender climbed over the outside rail on the curve and ran on the ties to the turn out which guided the derailed wheels down the siding and pulled the tender loose from the engine. If the turn out had not been there the train probably would have stopped before anything serious occurred. I spent the afternoon at the wreck and returned home late at night.

Next morning Bierd, Lake and Chief Engineer Kenly were in town and they would meet me and "Old John" the roadmaster at my office at ten o'clock. Bierd took the floor and spoke for about two hours. It was true that we did not have everything we needed for maintenance, but we did have enough to keep the trains on the track if we would be energetic in using what we had to the best advantage. There had been enough passenger train derailments; they had to be stopped. There was nothing wrong with the tenders; they had been running on that railroad for years. As he continued he became more emphatic and as a climax he said that if we had any more of these passenger train derailments somebody was going to be fired. This threat upset me. I rose up and protested; we would probably have another despite our intentions to carry out his wishes. (I felt that the threat was out of place and maybe he did too after he cooled off.) I sat down in deep dejection. Bierd got up and left the room; "Old John" and Kenly followed. Lake remained and said, "Now listen to me, kid, the old man was talking to all of us, he was talking to me and Kenly as well as to you. You are working for me and I want you to remember that nobody can fire my men without my consent. If any firing is to be done on this division I am the one who will do it." So far as I can remember we did not have another tender derailment while I remained on the division; no doubt Bierd would have said that he stopped them.

CHAPTER XV

Moving a Circus

Circus movements are always a headache. Unloading and reloading attracts crowds and causes unusual traffic on the adjacent streets. The Circus Trainmaster and his crew take charge of this local situation; they know how to avoid trouble. In the summer of 1913 the Ringling Brothers Circus had one day shows at Marshalltown and Mason City; they arrived at Marshalltown on the Northwestern Road in the early morning and the trains were delivered to the M. & St. L. tracks. We had to load them after the evening show and move the four trains to Mason City a distance of 88 miles; the last train was to be spotted for unloading in season to parade at eleven o'clock. Charles Lake was an experienced circus mover and came down from Minneapolis to oversee operations. He sent written instructions "These trains must not at any time exceed a speed of twenty-five miles per hour. Absolute manual block operation must be observed. Put on enough night operators to operate this block." We figured the schedules on that basis and it looked like the last train might be late for the parade. We suggested raising the speed limit to thirty miles per hour and allowing a circus train to follow a passenger train in a block after spacing ten minutes. Lake would not yield saying he wanted absolute safety. We arranged eight intermediate block stations making nine blocks; and some of them were about ten miles in length.

The circus trains were well spaced leaving Marshalltown each leaving as soon as loaded. The first one was away about midnight and the last one about 3:00 a. m. Lake had his car on the rear of the fourth train and I rode in that. He went to bed when we pulled out of Marshalltown. All four circus trains had to take siding and meet No. 5 southbound passenger train; northbound passenger train No. 6, was ahead of the fourth train, and it had to pass three circus trains and meet No. 5. Under the block plan a circus train had to be clear on

a siding before No. 6 could enter the block behind it and that circus train could not leave that siding until No. 6 had cleared the block ahead. These trains were heavy for the locomotives pulling them, there were several grades that retarded speed; stops had to be made for water.

Everything worked substantially as planned. Everyone involved was alert and careful. A Trainmaster or other officer rode each train. Our fourth train was at Hampton, 28 miles from Mason City, at seven o'clock. The engine crew was taking water and I was standing on the ground with watch in hand at the rear when Lake boiled out on the platform in his pajamas. What time is it? What are we doing here? What happened? Why didn't you call me? Just then the train started and I climbed aboard followed by the flagman. Lake went back to his room to dress and I followed him to tell him that nothing had happened. I had been off the train at block stations checking with the dispatcher; every train had moved when it had a clear block; there had been no mistakes so far as I could tell. We would be in Mason City about 8:30 ready to unload and that should not be too tough a job for the circus trainmaster. Our train carried the sleeping cars with the performers and supervisory people.

I told Lake that Slim Murphy riding the first train had arrived Mason City at five o'clock and probably all three trains ahead of us would be unloaded before we arrived. Lake said he would go over and apologize to the Circus Management and hoped they would not be too critical. He came back and said there was no complaint. The circus people were accustomed to situations of this kind. They were glad to be there safely. They had slept well and thought the ride had been smooth and comfortable.

CHAPTER XVI

New Management on the M. & St. L.

Some time in 1913, Bierd was elected President of the Alton Road and C. W. Huntington came to M. & St. L. as Vice President. Huntington wanted to bring Joe Kirwan as his General Superintendent and Lake handed in his resignation as soon as Huntington arrived. Lake expected that Bierd would want him to go to the Alton where there was a more difficult transportation situation and operating job than on the M. & St. L. Lake went to Chicago and kept in touch with Bierd for several weeks but nothing came of it. Not long after that Lake was employed as General Manager of the Seaboard Air Line by W. J. Harahan who was then President of that Road.

A job on the line is more secure than a job on the staff. Kirwan came down and went over the division. He told me they had no plans to change my status. Huntington came later, he had been there years before and talked about old times. He asked me about financial and corporate and organization matters at Minneapolis. He did not bother to question me about the Iowa Central division. The next time Kirwan came down he asked me to ride with him over the east end. Approaching Keithsburg he asked me to step over and tell the conductor to set off the car on the house track at Keithsburg. It was late afternoon when we stepped off with the Mississippi Bridge in view behind us. "Come on" said Kirwan, "let's take a walk." He headed south to the Main Street and turned west toward the river, then south along the river bank. He seemed to know exactly where he was going. He stopped at a shack on which was a sign "Fried Cats." He went in and extended his hand to the red faced stout man with a white apron tied around his middle and said "Hello Bill." Bill took a good look and said "Well, I'll be —— d—— if it ain't Joe Kirwan, where in the h—— have you been all these years?"

After exchange of greetings Joe asked, "Have you any cats?" he sure did, fresh caught and fine. Joe ordered two

platters of fried cats for us, and we went outside to sit on a bench and watch Ole Man River while Bill fried the cats. When he called we sat on stools at a pine top counter scrubbed to pristine whiteness and went to work on those rich brown fried cat fish, french fried potatoes, cabbage slaw and beets; also a good cup of coffee. We had the place all to ourselves and Bill told Joe about the old inhabitants of Keithsburg. We walked back to the car; he said he was tired and went to bed early. Would I please have the car picked up by the early morning train for Peoria. We would have breakfast about eight and walk around the terminals there. That was Joe Kirwan, he seemed to think I had arrived, he did not bother to educate or train me.

In the summer of 1913 when Bill was a baby we rented a cottage at Clear Lake, near Mason City. Grace and the children stayed there most of the summer and Ada Gentle from Creston visited them. My Mother had been attending a convention in the East and stopped over on her way home just in time to travel with us to Clear Lake. I borrowed the office car and carried the whole family from Oskaloosa to Mason City. As Mother was not entitled to free transportation I bought a ticket for her. I did not intend to tell her about it but she saw it. She said that spoiled the trip. A big railroad officer should be able to take his own mother for a ride in his private car.

Mr. Bierd made a trip from Peoria to Minneapolis over our line and asked me to ride with him over my division. He really went out of his way to tell me about the Chicago and Alton; what he had done and hoped to do there. He asked a few questions about the M. & St. L. but he did not seem to be greatly interested. He kept me up late at night telling about the Alton. It seemed like he wanted to sell it to me or at least ask me to come there and help him to run it. He had nothing like that in mind; he just wanted to talk about it and that may have helped him to straighten out his own thoughts.

In the spring of 1914 I had a letter from Charles Lake telling me something about the Seaboard. He thought I might like the situation there. The Seaboard was not a perfect railroad but it was far superior to the Iowa Central. I hardly had time to look up the Seaboard in the Official Guide and study

the geography a bit before Lake offered me the position of Superintendent of the Virginia Division, with office at Richmond, Va. This was really the choice division. The North Carolina division, at Hamlet, N. C. was bigger and more difficult; the others farther south were easier and less interesting. Huntington and Kirwan agreed with my view that I ought to accept this opportunity for my own interest and they arranged to release me so that I could report at Richmond July 1, 1914. The war in Europe was just getting started, the price of cotton was beginning to jump, the Seaboard was in for a big pick up in business.

CHAPTER XVII

We Move to Richmond, Virginia

We found an upper floor in a duplex house; other houses close up on both sides. Not a very good location for children but there was a park not far away. We had to take what we could find quickly as we were anxious to get settled as soon as possible. We traveled from Chicago on the Chesapeake and Ohio. The first part of that trip was over the Chicago Division, formerly the Chesapeake and Ohio of Indiana. The Chesapeake and Ohio probably thought it could make some net running through sleeping cars Chicago to Norfolk; but they may have overlooked the effect on freight train movements; they were standing on sidings and being delayed by our train running late and losing time. Today even though the Chicago Division is a very good modern single track railroad the passenger trains run over the New York Central between Chicago and Cincinnati.

We arranged for a motor trip over the Virginia Division with the track supervisors and then I rode a few freight trains, especially the local freights. Then, one morning, word came to meet Mr. Harahan coming from New York and ride with him from Richmond to Raleigh. This train left Richmond at nine o'clock A. M. I thought he seemed a little surprised when he saw me; I did not weigh more than 125 pounds and looked like a freckle-faced boy. We settled down to look at the railroad. I kept silent except to answer questions. He seemed much interested in my past experince; of course he learned that I had no formal education just a product of the rails. He was good at mental arithmetic; I had some talent along that line too. As we were riding along in the Virginia foothills, cut over timber lands, small patches of tobacco and corn, side hill farms, some mules grazing, he said, "Mr. Marshall, how are the crops?" He always spoke in a low voice and with the utmost courtesy. I said, "Well, Mr. Harahan, you know that I have been here only a few days and I have just come from Iowa where the corn grows as high as the box cars, so I hope

you will understand why I have not noticed the crops along this railroad and I really don't know how they are." This tickled his sense of humor and he then told me about the peanuts and sweet potatoes along the Portsmouth-Norlina Line and the importance of giving those farmers good service in shipping their products. He gave me a very good briefing on the traffic of the Seaboard, the citrus fruit and vegetable movement, the winter passenger movement to and from Florida, the merchandise business coming down from the north through the Richmond Gateway. He emphasized the importance of keeping in close touch with the officers of the R. F. & P. upon which we had to depend for our connections on both passenger and freight schedules; also about the influence of the Pennsylvania R. R. in R. F. & P. affairs. He spoke of the strength of our competitor the Atlantic Coast Line with a large amount of double track and an aggressive management; we would have to be good operators to get our share of the business; we must above all be safe operators. Thus did Mr. Harahan, out of his great wisdom, impart to me the fundamentals of the job to be done.

At Norfolk-Portsmouth the other leg of my division, we had a substantial interchange with the Pennsylvania Railroad via Cape Charles. We also interchanged at Portsmouth a large volume of merchandise and package freight with the coastwise steamer lines, Old Dominion, Bay Line and others. This was water rail differential business moving between the North Atlantic ports and the interior via Norfolk and Savannah. Seaboard had extensive docks and freight houses at Portsmouth, we had to provide the labor to handle freight between shipside and cars. Every night about nine we had a solid train, 75 or 80 cars of merchandise, nearly all of which would move to the North Carolina Division before the next morning.

We began to show favorable comparisons aided by a rising volume of business. Better earnings of the system enabled the management to invest in new motive power. These were Mikado type freight locomotives which could handle fifty loads from Johnson Street to Richmond, 150 miles, in ten hours or less. These new engines made a big difference in our operations. A little later we received some new and heavier passenger engines.

It would be nice to report that we did not have any serious trouble; but we did and it struck with great fury. Three accidents, two of them within a week of each other were very serious.

Train No. 7 southbound passenger with two engines, the lead engine moving to balance power, derailed while moving 60 miles per hour, at the facing point switch of spur track at Manson, a few miles south of Norlina. The lead engine did not leave the rails; the second engine entered the turn out of the spur track on the outside of a slight curve; it turned over and one or two baggage cars piled up on top of it. Two more cars headed into the siding but were not turned over. The wrecking crane was close at hand and the track was on the way to being cleared when I arrived in the early morning. The men on the ground showed me the cause of the derailment; a piece of wrought iron, about an inch in diameter and eighteen inches long was wedged in between the switch point and the stock rail; this held the point open enough to catch the flange of a wheel that approached just right and send it down the siding. Why the lead engine did not derail we would never know, it passed over by some freak of motion. Where did that piece of metal come from? It had entered behind the point and had been pulled in by great force and then twisted off at the forward end.

At daylight we started on a motor car following drag marks until we found the greater part of a truss road worn thin at one end and freshly broken at the other end. These truss rods were used under wooden cars to support the frame; they had turnbuckles to keep them tight. The dispatcher gave us the identification of the last northbound freight passing the switch; it had set off the greater part of its train at Norlina and we found it was still there. We motored back to Norlina, located the string of cars. I had the satisfaction of finding the flat car with truss rod worn off at the front end and the back part wrapped around the journal box at the rear with the bright twisted metal sticking downward beside the rail. This rod had become loose and sagged until it came in contact with the wheel, the turning wheel had ground it until it became thin and parted. That caused the whole rod to swing out and strike things along the track. Now we had all the pieces and

the car inspector measured them and fitted them together on the ground. Before noon I had made a complete report to Lake on the telephone.

The pair of accidents that were related. It was winter time, operations were gummy. A double header north out of Johnston Street was caught in the early morning passenger rush and could not move for several hours. At Franklinton, N. C. the helper engine cut off, the train engine pulled more than half the train into the long, or southbound siding, the helper engine coupled to rear portion and pulled it in on the shorter northbound siding. The caboose was then near the telegraph office. They settled down to wait an opportunity to move. The conductor was in the office and the engine crews were on the engines, it was cold. The flagman and the head brakeman were in the caboose. Number 10 the Florida Limited was due to run northbound. The dispatcher told the conductor that his crew and the train engine crew would deadhead back to Raleigh because they could not make Portsmouth within sixteen hours on duty. The dispatcher told the conductor to put the two engines together so that the crew on the helper engine could watch both engines until relief crews were sent. The conductor went over to the caboose, awakened the colored head brakeman and gave him an oral message. "Tell Slim (the engineman on the train engine) to cut off and *as soon as number 10 runs* back down on top of the other engine on the other siding." This instruction should have been in writing or the conductor should have gone up there himself; he obviously had nothing else to do.

In a few minutes the train engine pulled out on the main line; the switch was thrown and it started backing southward on the main track toward the other switch. While so moving No. 10 came along about sixty miles an hour and plowed into the freight engine. The passenger engine derailed and turned over on its side, into the sides of freight cars on the south siding and set them on fire. The engineman and the road foreman of engines riding with him were both killed. Several cars of No. 10 train were derailed. Some of the passengers on No. 10 were shaken up but none seriously injured. The conductor of No. 10 and the freight conductor got the helper engine behind the passenger train and pulled it back away from

the burning wreck; they had all the sleepers but the dining car was derailed.

I was called to the dispatchers office in Richmond. It was difficult to get the facts about the situation at the wreck because the men on the ground were busy getting people and cars away from the fire and getting first aid for injured. We called wrecking outfits from Norlina and Raleigh so we could work at the wreck from both ends. We could not tell how long the fire would delay clearing the track. What to do with No. 10? We could take it back to Raleigh and detour it over the Southern Railway and Atlantic Coast Line. It would have been wise to do this but we did not know it until it was too late to do any good. We finally got a hole through the wreck in the afternoon and passed No. 10 toward New York but there was no happiness and certainly no praise among the passengers.

At the investigation the engineer (Slim) said he knew No. 10 was due and had not passed; he thought the conductor's instructions coming at that time meant that he could go ahead and make the move ahead of Number 10. The brakeman said he told the engineer what the conductor told him to say, but he could not repeat it twice alike. The engineer said the brakeman never mentioned No. 10 to him. The practice of giving verbal instructions affecting the movement of trains had to be stopped.

About one week after the accident at Franklinton, number 10 derailed and turned over three cars in a creek near Bellwood, Virginia. The engine crossed the pile trestle with wooden deck and stopped on the north side with all the wheels of the engine and tender on the rails. The entire bridge deck was scraped off and resting against the north abutment. The leading three cars of the train had turned over into the creek bottom. Most of the passengers were in the diner or the sleepers; no one was seriously hurt. This time we made no mistake in handling the passengers. The accident was only ten miles from Richmond. We transferred them to coaches north of the creek and quickly moved them to Richmond where Pullman cars were ready and started them to New York less than three hours late.

Now to find the cause of the accident. The bottom brace on the right side of the front truck of the tender was missing; the nut had fallen from the column bolt at the forward end but the back end had been wrenched out of the metal frame by force. The bottom brace was found on the embankment 200 feet south of the bridge. The tender truck wheels had run on the ties from a trailing point switch of a siding about 600 feet south of the bridge. We found marks on the ties for a mile south of the switch plainly made by the forward end of the bottom brace striking the ties. This brace was a bar of steel, nearly an inch thick, more than three inches wide and about four feet long, a heavy piece of metal to be swinging loose. The forward end of the brace was grooving the ties, as it progressed the marks were deeper and longer; at the switch the brace struck the headblock and lifted the back wheels of the truck off the rails; the left hand wheel dropped outside the rail. When the derailed wheels came to the bridge they were far enough out of line to engage the wooden guard rail and open up a space for the wheels to drop down and slide the bridge deck over to the north end of the bridge. The truck was held to the tender by the stay chains, the engine pulled the tender and both of its trucks onto the solid track on the far side where the wheels rerailed themselves.

This derailment at Bellwood was a consequence of the accident at Franklinton where the regular engine on that run had been wrecked. It was necessary to use on Number 10 the engine which had been pulling the local passenger train on the Portsmouth run. The engineer on the local had reported loose nuts on the column bolts and vibration in the truck; the nuts had been tightened two or three times without discovering a broken spring in the truck frame. This case was run down and the facts discovered within twelve hours after the accident.

Mr. Harahan came to Richmond with Lake and other officers a few days after the Bellwood accident. They wanted to hear the story of the two accidents to Number 10, the Florida Limited, and they listened almost without interruption. I gave them the highlights of my oral examination of the freight train crew at Franklinton; the efforts I made to get the colored brakeman to repeat the oral message he carried from the con-

ductor to the engineman. This was a shameful performance and all I could do was to promise more careful checking of the practices of trainmen in such matters.

The war in Europe and the high level of business had stimulated rail traffic. The Southeast was becoming prosperous. Seaboard traffic had increased greatly and net income was exceeding past records. It was in the summer of 1916, I think, that high water in the Catawba-Wateree River destroyed the Seaboard's bridges at Catawba, on the Georgia Division and Camden on the North Carolina Division cutting the main lines to Atlanta and Jacksonville. These were big bridges and temporary crossings could not be built in less than ten days or two weeks. I was ordered to report to Norfolk for night duty until the lines were opened. This temporary job consisted of gathering and tabulating reports showing the traffic situation each morning. We were trying to move through traffic as near as feasible to the breaks so that it could be moved quickly over the temporary crossings.

In the fall of 1916 as the business increased the administrative load on the General Office required more overhead and Mr. Lake asked me to come to Norfolk as Assistant to General Manager. We found a nice apartment in Norfolk and moved the family there in October 1916. I was no stranger to General Office work but found myself involved in dealing with labor committees which was new in my experience at the general office level. Grievances on pay claims and discipline had to be studied and abstracted so that the General Manager could quickly dispose of them at meetings with the Committees.

Another part of my work at Norfolk was analyzing statistical reports and attending staff meetings. This continued during the winter of 1916 and 1917. The operating situation became more difficult because of heavy freight traffic and inadequate motive power. The question of buying new motive power was under consideration and I was aware of differences of opinion as to quantity and type of motive power required. I was myself very much in favor of getting more of the same types of freight and passenger locomotives which we had last acquired.

CHAPTER XVIII

Lake Leaves the Seaboard

The United States entered the war in Europe in April 1917 and the situation on the railroads was already deteriorating. The Seaboard was not by any means in as poor situation as some of the big Eastern railroads serving the Atlantic Ports. The Seaboard would have been in better shape if its connections had been able to take currently its northbound traffic at Richmond and Portsmouth. In the summer of 1917 Lake resigned; he did not give me his confidence and I did not know the reasons. I think he disagreed with his associates about designs for motive power. L. C. Fritch came from the Canadian National and was made General Manager of the Seaboard in June or July 1917.

As I was Assistant to General Manager Fritch spent several days asking me questions and assembling information. He had not done any railroading in the south and I think he found that I understood him better than some of the natives. He treated me very nicely and told me frankly that he had not settled his organization plans; he did not know whether he would want me to stay in Norfolk. It was in July 1917 that notices were released that Harry Grimshaw, then Superintendent at Savannah would be General Superintendent of the System. I was sent to Atlanta as Superintendent of the Georgia Division. I left the family in Norfolk where they had a good apartment. They came down to Atlanta and lived in a hotel for a few weeks. I did not have any firm conviction that the arrangement then set up would endure.

Riding a Troop Train Through Georgia.

The Army was beginning to move troops from training camps to Atlantic ports. We were asked to move a troop train from the Central of Georgia at Cedartown, Ga., to the North Carolina Division at Monroe, N. C. a distance of 332 miles on the Georgia Division. I decided to ride this troop train at least

part way. We left Atlanta in the evening with light engine and caboose, received the train and left Cedartown after midnight. There were four or five old Pullman Tourist sleepers on the head end, several box cars, several flat cars carrying artillery and vehicles, some stock cars with horses and mules. We came into Atlanta about daylight on a beautiful summer morning. I decided to ride the train up to Athens, Ga. Trainmaster Bob Hill and I rode in the cupola of the caboose, I sat facing the engine; the flagman was opposite on the other side of cupola. The Conductor was on the engine. We were rolling along smoothly about 6 a. m. when the brakes set in the emergency. I was thrown down on the deck between the cupola seats. The Flagman dived down to the caboose floor like a shot, grabbed a wrench and air hose, jumped down to the ground and started forward on the dead run; he was going to replace a bursted air hose. Bob Hill took the flagging tools and went back to flag which the flagman should have done; he went to the rear at double quick and I started forward. I could see the flagman running forward and the long-legged conductor running back, swinging his long arms, pointing to the rear and presently I could hear him yelling "Get back there you — — — — — — — ; get back there and flag." I signalled him to slow down and came up to him and the flagman together; told him that Bob Hill had gone back to protect the rear.

We went on to the head end; two of the tourist cars were derailed and leaning over on their sides against the slope of the cut on the inside of the curve. The soldiers had climbed out through the windows and were perched along the up side of the car roofs in their B. V. D.'s chattering like magpies. Nobody was hurt; not even a scratch. The draw bar had pulled out of the rear end of the tourist car ahead of the derailed cars and fallen across the rail forming a perfect derailer; the two following cars had derailed and partly turned over before the parting of the air hose set the brakes in emergency. That was an old fashioned long shank passenger car draw bar, about five or six feet long, tapered toward the back end; it had broken off near the place where it was attached to the bolster. It was indeed fortunate that this derailment occurred in a cut; not on a high embankment.

After looking things over we proceeded with the engine and the cars ahead of the derailment, including the one with no coupler at the rear, to the next telegraph station, and reported the situation. We would need the wrecking cars and three Pullman Sleepers. The officer in charge of the outfit had already informed us that it would be necessary to unload, feed and water all of the live stock if we were going to be delayed several hours. We arranged for an engine and crew to come from Atlanta to pull the train, except the derailed cars, back to a station where there was a stock yard and water and feed available; this would clear the way for the wrecking crews to get up to the derailed sleepers. It did not take very long to rerail these cars after the derrick got there but then the track had to be repaired and the Army did not want to reload the live stock until everything else was ready to move. We had to get the relief sleepers from Atlanta, provide fresh crews and power, assemble all the men and equipment, reload the live stock and put the train together again. It was probably six o'clock in the evening when we got away from that place.

I rode the train to Athens, Ga. and said good bye to the Captain wishing him a pleasant journey. He was not much upset; he was on his way to France and did not mind a few hours delay; if it was unavoidable. It was my second night without sleep but I wrote a concise telegraph report of the whole proceeding before going to bed in the hotel. I expected the Army to ask for an explanation of the delay; if they did I never heard of it. The derailment was caused by a defective drawbar and it is doubtful if such a defect could have been discovered by routine inspection.

Inspection Trip Over the Georgia Division.

Sometime in August, I believe, the Executives of the Seaboard came on a special train to Monroe to inspect the Georgia Division. I met them early one morning at Monroe and they spent two or three days on the division, including the greater part of one day looking around Birmingham, Alabama. Leaving Monroe I went to the observation car and handed a copy of all the train orders to Mr. Harahan. This was protocol. He greeted me, read the orders carefully, as he always did, passed

them on to Vice President Seddon and General Manager Fritch who handed them back to me. General Superintendent Grimshaw was not present in the car. I had seen Grimshaw before leaving. As soon as I could leave the party I excused myself and went in search of Grimshaw. He was standing in the open doorway of the side door of the baggage car holding to the cross rail above his head and looking out at the sun-drenched landscape. I joined him holding to the rail and asked if he would be going back to the rear. It seemed to me improper for him to absent himself from the party. He said, "No, Marshall, I am not going to spend much time back there but you had better go back and stay there and answer their questions."

Grimshaw stayed away from the party most of the time. I knew that Grimshaw and Seddon were old time friends so it must have been Fritch that he did not want to travel with. Looking backward I think that case of incompatibility could have been foreseen. Looking forward from that day I expected further changes in our Executive line up and continued the decision not to move my family to Atlanta.

CHAPTER XIX

Back to the Virginia Division

In September 1917 Fritch sent me instructions to relieve George Carlton as Superintendent of the Virginia Division; he said that Carlton would take my place on the Georgia Division. This returned both of us to divisions on which we had previously served. The headquarters of the Virginia Division had been moved from Richmond to Raleigh. I arrived at Raleigh about noon on a Sunday and met Carlton at the hotel. He was waiting for the train to Atlanta. Carlton said, "What's going on here, why all this moving around?" I replied that he doubtless knew as much about it as I did; I had received a telegram ordering me to Raleigh to take over the Virginia Division. I supposed he would enjoy returning to his old situation in Atlanta. We talked for an hour or so. He told me about a bad head end collision between two fast freight trains a few weeks before and the difficulty of placing the responsibility; there had been violation of operating rules and probable carelessness. As he was about to leave for the train he said that the desk was clear except for a few accidents that had not been investigated. Business was very heavy and he did not want to hold the men out of service for investigation. After Carlton left I went over to the office, greeted the train dispatchers and told them where to find me if needed. I found the accident reports mentioned by Carlton and filed them without reading. I did not intend to waste any time on dead issues.

Next morning I arrived at the office early and found on my desk a report of a train accident at Henderson, N. C. at two o'clock that morning. This was my first order of business and the opportunity I needed. It had all the ear marks of carelessness and probable rule violation without any personal injury and without extensive damage to equipment. It was made to order for my purpose.

Train No. 97, fast freight southbound, Conductor Finlator, Engineman Vaughan, stopped on the main track at Henderson,

cut off four head cars and backed them in on the set-off track. That track was already full of cars and these were shoved out the north end of the track into the side of the standing train. Two loaded cars were tipped over and the main track and siding blocked. Northbound passenger train No. 2 was then due at Henderson and was delayed two or three hours before the track could be cleared.

The set-off track was so named because it was intended to be used for that purpose. The yard crew at Henderson was expected to keep it clear to the extent necessary for road crews to set off cars without delay. I would stop off at Henderson as soon as convenient.

I called the Yardmaster on the telephone—"Send the whole crew of 97 to my office as soon as they get in. I mean immediately after they are relieved; not necessary for them to wash up or get breakfast; just come right over here as I want to see them and will be waiting." I knew the office secretary was not a good stenographer but there was nothing I could do to improve that situation then. When the crew arrived we went to work taking their statements. They were all dirty, tired and hungry; they had been on duty nearly sixteen hours. They were somewhat peeved about being called to an investigation in this unusual manner. I told them there could be nothing more important than investigating affairs of this kind; it was for the good of them and other men on the division and this affair at Henderson seemed to be one of those things that good railroad men should be ashamed of. I felt that it was necessary to clear it up as soon as possible and would not keep them any longer than it took to get the facts.

The evidence was that Conductor Finlator was on the caboose, dropped off when the train stopped and walked forward. He had not reached the north switch of the set-off track until after the collision. Engineer Vaughan made the decision to stop and set off before taking siding for No. 2. (This was right if he had time to do it and clear for No. 2; otherwise they would have to come back and set off after No. 2 departed.)

Engineer Vaughan should have seen that he did not have time to set off cars, couple up and pull the train into clear on the passing siding before No. 2 was due at the station. He

knew that he was encroaching on No. 2 because he sent the fireman out to flag.

Engineer, fireman and brakeman had pulled by the whole length of the set-off track right along side of them and could have seen that it was full of cars if they had taken the trouble to look.

Because they were on short time Vaughan did not give the brakeman time enough to go back to the end of the cars on the set-off track. He said the brakeman gave him a back-up signal. The brakeman said he was still walking back when the collision occurred and would not admit that he gave back-up signal.

The investigation took about two hours. I decided to give them my conclusion then and there. It was clear to me that Engineer Vaughan was the culprit; he had used bad judgment and neglected a precaution that would have saved all the trouble. It was necessary to find violation of rules to warrant severe discipline. I announced that Engineer Vaughan would receive thirty days actual suspension; he had violated rules by occupying main track after No. 2 was due to leave the next station east where time was shown in the time table; he was required to clear the main track before that time. He had deliberately planned a condition which required him to send out a flag. Knowing that he would have to take siding for No. 2 he should have pulled in on the passing track at once; he did not have time to do anything else safely. He could have learned that the set-off track was full of cars by instructing the brakeman to look as they passed it; that would have spared him all the consequent trouble.

It was not customary to decide discipline cases immediately after investigation. It was my duty to make a full report with a transcript of the testimony and recommend discipline. This was the practice agreed upon with the unions. That meant that considerable time, maybe a month or two would elapse before the men on the division would know what action was taken. I could not afford to lose the disciplinary effect of prompt and wide spread publicity. I had known Engineer Vaughan during my first service on the division; I knew he was a talker and stickler for his rights so I wanted to give him something that would keep him talking for

some days. He did just that; he sat over at the round house and told everybody what I had done to him. The joke was that he could not explain what actually happened without exposing the comedy foolishness of backing into his own train.

In this way it was known within two days, all over the division, Marshall was back and handing out actual suspension for discipline. They knew this was an unusual action and realized that it would be necessary to get on their toes and not get in trouble if it could be avoided. They were not resentful; they knew Vaughan and they all knew what happened at Henderson. There were no accidents on the Virginia Division for at least two months. Later while I was General Superintendent the Engineers Grievance Committee called on me to appeal the actual suspension against Vaughan; they wanted me to revise the decision and pay him for time lost. I knew that the stenographic record of the hearing was incomplete and defective and on review might not stand up; however, I told the Committee that none of them would have pulled the boner that Vaughan had tried and I thought it might have done him some good to think it over at his own expense. The Committee said they felt they would have to appeal to the General Manager because my action had been hasty, they believed without approval of higher officers, and the discipline had been too severe. I told them to go ahead if they felt like it; that I had made a full report to the management at the time explaining my action.

CHAPTER XX

Moving a Circus From Petersburg

In September or October 1917, during my second term on the Virginia Division, the Ringling Brothers asked the Seaboard management to move their circus from Petersburg to Richmond. It was in war time, traffic was heavy and we did not have adequate track facilities at Petersburg to handle the circus properly. They must have made a special appeal; the Norfolk and Western had agreed to move the trains from Norfolk to Petersburg and deliver them to us for unloading. We were asked to do the best we could with it.

There were four trains of about 22 cars each; the first three trains were mostly flat cars for carrying wagons loaded with equipment, animal cages and the like. We had one track, parallel with the main track, long enough to hold a train of these flat cars, accessible to a street, where the wagons could be unloaded and reloaded. Each train of flat cars had to be spotted on this one track; first, for unloading in the early morning and then for loading after the evening show. There was room on another track to store the other train of sleeping cars and stock cars.

The plan of operation was to store one train of flat cars at Seacoast, about three miles south of Petersburg (at this place there was a track connection with the main line of the Norfolk and Western Railroad); the second train of flat cars was stored on the passing siding at Lynch, about five miles north of Petersburg; and the third train, which would be the first one loaded, on the loading track described. Crews and locomotives were lined up; first crew from Richmond to move the first train. Second crew to come from Norlina, about 70 miles south, pick up the flat cars at Seacoast and pull in on the loading track immediately after the first train pulled out. This movement was timed expertly and should have worked perfectly. The third and fourth crews would come from Richmond.

I went to Petersburg and saw the trains unloaded and all the plans made for the night movement and got some sleep

during the day. In the evening I went to the telegraph office and checked all the plans in detail with the Chief Dispatcher on the telephone. He had everything arranged in fine shape. Harry Benton, Trainmaster, who had come to the Virginia Division with Carlton was with me. Our plans seemed perfect and all we had to do was watch them unfold. Lady Luck intervened.

The first train was loaded on schedule and was ready to leave. We were keeping in touch with Engine 910, Conductor Draffin, moving from Norlina, light with caboose. He had been reported by McKenney and should have called in from Seacoast. He did not report and the loading was being delayed. A northbound freight train Conductor Parrish had just passed Petersburg when Draffin called from the booth telephone at Dinwiddie; his engine struck an automobile on a crossing and two people were badly injured, maybe they would die. He was in doubt about moving them from Dinwiddie County. He said he believed that both of them were still alive so we instructed him to bring them in his caboose to Petersburg, the nearest hospital. We told him not to stop to pick up the flat cars at Seacoast. The circus trainmaster wanted to know what we were going to do and we asked him if he could load the train of flats from Lynch instead of those from Seacoast for the second train and he said, "Yes, the quicker the better." We were able to stop Conductor Parrish, have him set out his train on the long siding at Lynch and come back to Petersburg with the train of flats. This he did as quickly as possible and these cars were spotted ready to load when Draffin came in. We headed him in on the depot spur and all activities stopped while the doctors examined the people in Draffin's caboose, found them both dead and the coroner took charge and moved them to the morgue. Bringing corpses into the middle of circus loading operations was likely to mean further trouble.

We then instructed Draffin to put his caboose on the spur and back the engine to Seacoast, pick up the flats and bring them in for loading. We held Parrish and his engine and crew to move the second train, if necessary. It happened that the third crew from Richmond arrived in time to move the second train but we still held Parrish and we were glad we did. Trainmaster Benton got up on the Engine 910 and went along with

that crew. Now it looked like our problems would be solved.

In a few minutes Benton called on the booth telephone at the south end of the yard to say that Engine 910 had all drivers derailed on the curve south of the electric line crossing (about half way between Petersburg and Seacoast). He thought it would be impossible to rerail the engine without help and that we should call the Norfolk and Western wrecker. Now our situation looked bad indeed. Our main line was blocked by this derailed engine between the circus and the flat cars at Seacoast. We had two chances; one was to get engine 910 rerailed and out of the way; the other was to have the Norfolk and Western move the flat cars through the connection at Seacoast and bring them around over their main line and deliver them to us at the Petersburg interchange track. We knew it would take at least one hour and thirty minutes to move the flat cars around that way and we did not know how long it would take to get the wrecker and rerail the engine. So we asked the Norfolk and Western to do two things; loan us their wrecking crane and move the flat cars around to Petersburg, and time was of the essence as we had a circus on our hands waiting for cars.

The Norfolk and Western boys went to work with a will. The wrecker came through first and we were ready to move it down to the derailment. The flat cars came through the connection before the engine was rerailed and the circus people began loading them. The third train was about ready to leave when the 910 came up under its own power and the engineman said it was O. K. to run. I told Benton to get the 910 off the main track as soon as possible, put it on a spur track and lock the switch. Do not permit it to move again until this circus is too far away to be stopped by anything the 910 might do. We sent Parrish out with the third train as he belonged in Richmond anyway and the fourth crew and engine were there to pick up and move the fourth train. This train left long after daylight and I think it arrived at the unloading place in Richmond about eight A. M.

The circus management was not critical. In fact they wrote a personal thank you letter to the Seaboard management complimenting us for our diligence and speed in meeting the emergencies and especially our disposition to use every-

thing we could command, regardless of expense to give the circus preferred attention.

I asked Trainmaster Benton if he thought they were moving too fast around the curve when the engine derailed. He said he thought they were moving between 15 and 20 miles and he did not think that was too fast at the time. After looking over the situation he concluded that they had been running a little too fast considering the condition of the track and the type of engine, backing up. It was a heavy consolidation type (2-8-0) with a high boiler and high center of gravity, no trailer wheel and a tendency to rock on a curve not perfectly surfaced. Benton later became General Manager of the Seaboard.

CHAPTER XXI

Appointed General Superintendent

In November 1918 Fritch decided to make some changes. It seemed apparent that the system was too large for one man to cover as General Superintendent in the manner Fritch contemplated. Notices came out that Grimshaw was appointed General Superintendent of the Southern District, lines south of Columbia and Charleston, S. C. and Marshall was appointed to that office for the Northern District comprising the Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia Divisions. My duties were only vaguely described by anything in writing. Fritch said he wanted me to do the road work, stay out on the railroad most of the time, find the trouble spots and keep him advised of matters needing his attention.

The North Carolina Division was the toughest division on the railroad; Raleigh to Columbia, S. C. through Hamlet, N. C., headquarters and principal terminal. From Hamlet, lines diverged to Wilmington, N. C., Monroe, N. C. and Charleston, S. C.; it was in five parts converging at Hamlet, the busiest spot on the System. My new office was at Hamlet but I continued to live at Raleigh. The Superintendent of the North Carolina Division was Pete Walton appointed by Lake in 1914. Pete was a seasoned railroad man with good previous experience some years older than me. He was the logical choice for General Superintendent.

During the period December to April we had the most severe weather on record. Below freezing weather in North Carolina has a paralyzing effect on both men and equipment. At times the trainmen reported sick in such numbers that trains were delayed. They simply did not like the cold weather. Meanwhile traffic continued heavy. Extra passenger and troop trains. Regular passenger trains were running late continuously. Freight business was congested at times. All of this caused Mr. Fritch acute agony, although his health did not seem to be impaired. He would send critical telegrams and letters of instruction but when he met us face to face he was

sociable, even urbane. The written record seemed to conflict with his personal attitude.

My job as outside man required an office car to get around over the railroad, get some rest and deal with the voluminous paper work imposed on me. When I was appointed Fritch said a second hand office car had been purchased and would be available soon. Riding out of Portsmouth one evening with Seddon, Fritch and Small (Superintendent Motive Power) Mr. Seddon told me the car had arrived that day and would be assigned to Small, whose jurisdiction extended over the system. However, an old parlor car would be remodeled for my use. This remodeled car had ample sleeping space, in open berths, but a make shift kitchen with a gasoline stove. The green porter cook came near burning up the whole outfit the first time he tried to use the stove for cooking. I told him not to use it any more; we would get our meals outside.

I felt that my appointment as General Super was in the nature of a compromise experiment. If I could do something for Fritch he would keep me there as long as he could. I knew the best chance would be to do a good job of reporting about interesting conditions and events. I might have weathered the difficulties by keeping my head working if those new mallets had come on the railroad in April instead of in December.

There was no doubt that the Seaboard needed additional motive power. This need might have been met by buying more of the 2-8-2 type freight engines then doing a good job on the Virginia and North Carolina Divisions. They could be used to good advantage also on other divisions where smaller power was then being used. That would have been an absolutely safe investment. Developing more powerful units for the heavy traffic parts of the Northern District could have been deferred. A 2-8-8-2 mallet had been designed—tractive effort about 90,000 pounds—to pull 3000 gross tons on one and one quarter percent grades. The main line from Richmond to Columbia crossed all the ridges between water courses near the western edge of the coastal plain; ruling grades up to 1½% controlled train loads on this 375 miles of busy main line single track, without automatic signals. There were 4 to 6 regular passenger trains in each direction; high speed perishable trains were moving north in season and high speed merchandise trains

south at all seasons. It was necessary for the freight trains to move quickly in and out of sidings which required speedy engines with surplus power for quick acceleration. The primary idea of more powerful engines was sound but it had to be fitted to the conditions.

The new mallet was designed for high speed, it had relatively high driving wheels and boiler capacity to serve four cylinders. It demonstrated capacity to run at expected speed and pull the expected load; but it certainly did not have enough tender capacity. The coal consumption was enormous; it would exhaust the coal capacity of the tender in fifty miles. It seemed clear that this engine was not well suited to the 150 mile run from Raleigh to Richmond.

Ten or twelve of the new engines were received at Richmond in December-January 1917-1918. Several test runs were made on the Virginia Division in which none of them made a satisfactory run with a full load; that is, a trip fulfilling expectations as to train load and time on the road. It had been demonstrated that the new engine could not run from Norlina to Richmond, 100 miles, without taking coal; the management had approved setting up a temporary coaling arrangement at McKenney.

Running a Mallet 2-8-8-2 From Johnson Street Yard To Richmond.

I decided to personally ride these engines for several trips and try to determine what we needed to get satisfactory operation if possible. The North Carolina Division was beginning to get some service out of them operating between Hamlet and Raleigh, 100 miles, with a good coaling station midway. The trip that I remember above all others is worth telling about.

The train was called to leave Johnson Street at 1:00 P. M. Trainmaster Query and I were on hand early to check the train, 90 cars about 3000 tons of which 20 cars were to set off at Norlina. We decided not to pick up cars at Norlina to replace those set off in order to save time and better clear other trains north of Norlina. We wanted to make a through run in reasonable time. We left Johnson Street on time. We planned to keep this train moving giving it priority if necessary. One successful trip would pave the way for another.

The engineman was eager to make a good run; he went up Wake Forest grade at good speed. We made an excellent run to Norlina where coal and water were taken while the yard engine took off the 20 Norlina cars at the rear. Leaving Norlina we felt we had a good chance to make the run in 12 hours over all. Approaching McKenney it was certain that we would have to take coal; the train would have to stand on the main track; the dispatcher would hold everything while we moved to McKenney, took coal and water and moved out again. The coaling operation was very slow; a gang of men in the coal car filling buckets with shovels, each bucket was hoisted by the crane over the tender and dumped by tripping a latch. In the darkness working with oil flares no part of this operation worked well; shortly the crane was waiting for buckets to be filled. It took more than an hour to put ten tons of coal on the tender. Finally we were on our way allowing other trains to move in both directions.

At Dinwiddie the dispatcher stopped us to say that Yardmaster at Richmond could not possibly take our train into the yard; he was blocked with northbound business which the R. F. & P. could not accept as they were blocked in turn at Potomac Yard by failure of Pennsylvania and Baltimore and Ohio to receive. Our train had to be set off at Seacoast. Query went to the telephone to report the engine and caboose ready to leave for Richmond. I was beginning to work on my report of the trip, including a firm recommendation for a good modern coal chute at McKenney as soon as possible. We should have 100 car sidings. We should in the meantime utilize the mallets between Hamlet and Raleigh and between Raleigh and Norlina on turn around runs. There was no sense in tying up the railroad completely the way we were now doing. Query came back to report that the coal chute at Norlina was on fire and expected to be a total loss. Now we needed two coal chutes as soon as possible.

We decided to flag and board No. 1. We walked about half a mile along the track on "crusted snow" breaking through at every step. I had on a pair of new bright tan shoes (Army officer style) and no galoshes. We arrived at Norlina about daylight; it was a scene of desolation and confusion. The burned coal chute had collapsed covering the main track and

siding with coal and debris; the wrecker and ditching machine were at work clearing the tracks; trains could be passed around the block through the yard tracks. Water had been drained from the water tank to fight the fire; then the pump failed to work to re-fill the tank. Several freight engines were standing short of coal or water or both.

I plowed around in the mud and slush for two or three hours getting an accurate statement of facts. The division supervisory forces were on the ground and doing everything that could be done. The Division Superintendent would make the usual report to Norfolk. I sent under personal cover to Fritch, an eye witness account. I could not determine at that time what started the fire. I also sent my report about the trip I had just made on the mallet. These two reports in long hand may have done me more harm than good in Norfolk; but it was my business to report. I was not the Division Superintendent. My new shoes were completely ruined; I was a physical wreck. I went home to Raleigh and to bed. Ten hours sleep was the only thing that would save my life.

This experience tends to show that conditions of practical railroading may be overlooked in making plans on paper. My appointment as general superintendent preceded by about six weeks the time when we were expected to put these new engines in service. Probably Fritch had no opportunity to study the plans; certainly the engines were on order before he came to the railroad. The mechanical designers either underestimated the rate of coal consumption or they expected that coaling stations would be provided. Weight limitations would have prohibited, in all probability, building a tender large enough to carry coal supply for 100 miles and water for 50 miles. Another condition was that normally it would have been necessary to hold traffic to build 100 car trains; or do an enormous amount of switching at every division yard. It could not have been done without delaying important traffic and disrupting schedules. The Seaboard did not have the traffic volume, nor the facilities, to operate the long heavy trains successfully. The Seaboard sold the Mallets to the Baltimore and Ohio after the war; the B. & O. used them to haul coal trains from Grafton to Cumberland.

CHAPTER XXII

Federal Control of Railroads

In February 1918 the railroads were taken over for operation by the United States under a special act of Congress known as the Federal Control Act. Mr. Harahan, President of the Seaboard was appointed Federal Manager. This event of Federal Control seemed to have a most irritating effect on the already frayed disposition of Mr. Fritch. He seemed to think of the Railroad Administration as a super-natural all-seeing eye that would quickly detect failure to achieve something like perfect performance. We might be called to Washington to explain why we could not deliver the goods. McAdoo would not stand for the kind of railroading we were doing. I intimated that it would be helpful to us if McAdoo would cause the Pennsylvania Railroad to accept freight business from us as rapidly as we could deliver to them. Mr. Fritch was conscientious but he did not seem to realize that other railroads in Eastern Territory were in much worse condition than we were. Nobody in the Railroad Administration had time to find fault with us. We were all working for Mr. Harahan just as we had been all along.

The Sun Shines Again in North Carolina.

Step by step we began to make some progress in operating the Mallets. We used them between Hamlet Yard and Raleigh and on turn around runs Raleigh to Norlina. There was no sense in gumming up the operation on the Richmond District until we had a coaling station. Mr. Seddon was unhappy because expected savings in operating expenses were not being realized. The passenger trains were beginning to run on time. The sun shone, the railroad dried out, the employes thawed out; the operation improved like magic.

Mr. Fritch had been fussing with the Pennsylvania Railroad about not taking our business at Portsmouth. They claimed that they were taking business currently although

we had two or three hundred cars set off waiting delivery. One day Fritch sent out an order to all divisions to move every Portsmouth-P. R. R. load on the railroad to Portsmouth for delivery at 7:00 A. M. of a specified date. He did not except any currently moving cars. We could not move cars from Birmingham to Portsmouth in one day. I did nothing about this order except to caution the Virginia and North Carolina Divisions to pick up the delayed set off cars and move them into Portsmouth as fast as they could get the Pennsylvania to accept them. They would not block Portsmouth Yard with cars that could not be delivered. The P. R. R. did not speed up its movement at all; the bottleneck was the movement by car ferry from Portsmouth to Cape Charles. When the specified date had passed Mr. Fritch wired all Superintendents and General Superintendents calling attention to the number of Portsmouth cars still on the railroad and demanding an explanation for failure to comply with explicit instructions. I did not answer this and doubt that anyone did; it simply could not be answered. I wanted Fritch to ask me about this face to face; but he never did.

I Resign By Request.

The transportation situation was clearing up nicely when I received a personal note from Mr. Fritch dated April 15 saying that my resignation as General Superintendent would be effective May 1. I did not intend to resign although I did not like the job. This was not technically a dismissal from the service; the intention was to transfer me to another job, judging from subsequent events. I was at Hamlet that morning; Fritch was coming in from Atlanta; Harahan and Seddon were arriving from Jacksonville. The Chief Dispatcher asked me, Supt. Walton being absent, to see if we could forward on No. 12 one of the three office cars then lined up for movement on No. 4; that train already had extra sleepers.

I walked down to the rear of No. 12 and met Mr. Fritch as he stepped down on arrival. I told him Walton was out of town and we had three office cars lined up for No. 4; he said of course we could put his car on No. 12 and hoped we could handle the other two on No. 4. I sent word to the Chief Dis-

patcher to put Mr. Fritch's car on No. 12 and the other two on No. 4; I walked with Fritch to the south platform to meet Harahan and Seddon. I said I had received his letter, it was somewhat of a surprise. I had tried to the best of my ability to serve the company and him; was not aware of any action on my part that would warrant dismissal for cause. I did not question his right to do what he had done; I did not want to stay where I was not wanted. He said he had nothing but the kindliest feelings for me, he liked me personally and admired my abilities along certain lines. It was thought, he said, that they should have a more experienced and seasoned man for General Superintendent and so they had decided to make a change. I thanked him for the explanation and said it was probably for the best.

Harahan and Seddon asked me to ride with them to Raleigh. Neither of them said anything about my status. They asked many questions and talked about many things; but not about Mallets. I left them at Raleigh and went home.

Later I went to Norfolk and called on Mr. Harahan. He was most cordial and offered to get me a commission in the Army Railroad Corps in France; that did not appeal to me. I would rather stay in this country the better to care for my family. He gave me a letter "To Whom It May Concern," a firm recommendation inviting anyone interested to ask him about me. Seddon was friendly and asked me if I would like to be a division superintendent on the Seaboard; if I would I could have it. This offer seemed to overlook the General Manager and the new General Superintendent. It convinced me that the operating department was being run from the desk I was then looking at. So I suggested that perhaps it would be better for me to locate elsewhere if he could recommend me. He gave me a letter that he meant to be helpful; it was not perfect because it undertook to explain in general terms why I was leaving the Seaboard.

Then I called on Mr. Fritch. If he had offered me the Virginia Division where I was then living and stated that it would be approved by the Gen. Supt. I might have accepted knowing that he and Seddon both had that idea in mind. But Mr. Fritch said nothing like that. He gave me a letter that was perhaps more useful than either of the others. Mr. Fritch left

the Seaboard very soon after I did. I feel certain that he was glad to get away. Later he became a Vice President of the Rock Island Railroad and continued there until he retired.

We Move to Washington.

We were expecting an increase in the family in July 1918 and so we decided to live in Raleigh where we were comfortable until after that blessed event. In May 1918 I took my letters and went to Washington. I knew some people in the Car Service Division of the Railroad Administration, including Warren Kendall and James F. Carmalt. William J. Cunningham whom I had known in Boston in 1907 was in charge of the statistical division of the Railroad Administration. Kendall put me on as Traveling Inspector. With Chas. E. Lee of the Boston and Maine I helped to make a survey of the open top car pool in Eastern Territory. We went to the coal fields on the Baltimore and Ohio and the Chesapeake and Ohio and collected statistics about coal car supply and movements. Much of the equipment in service was in poor condition and this was causing accidents notably on the steep grades on the B. & O. The chief objection to the car pool, from an operating standpoint, was the attendant failure to maintain the cars. We thought the pool would have to continue in operation during the remainder of the war; it would be virtually impossible to terminate under the existing conditions. The Federal Administration would have to give serious attention to the problem of maintenance very soon. Later I made a trip to Quebec to try to get better car supply for the movement of pulp wood for paper mills supplying paper products to the United States. The railroad transportation men I saw in Quebec were accomplished linguists. I could not understand their remarks because they assumed that I knew the local geography up in the woods far east of Quebec where these operations were going on. They talked good railroading, expressed the guarded opinion that the car supply would be much better after certain things developed as expected. I could not go up into the country without having letters of introduction and credentials which I could not ask for in view of the statements made to me at Quebec. I stayed there only three days and failed to accomplish anything worth while.

Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics.

In July or August 1918, word came to me to call on Henry Denison (Denison Tag Co., Framingham, Mass.) who was working with Professor Wm. Gay in the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics, a Bureau of the War Industries Board designed to present a running picture of the progress of the War Effort for Bernard Baruch. William J. Cunningham, whom I had known in New England and who later became Professor of the James J. Hill chair of Transportation at Harvard, had recommended me as a railroad statistician. Denison introduced me to Professor Gay and they took me on as Railroad Statistical Analyst in their newly organized bureau with offices in the New Interior Building. The salary was somewhat more than I had been receiving as General Superintendent of the Seaboard.

At Professor Gay's suggestion I tried to make a contact with the Railroad Administration operating department. We already had a friendly and useful contact with the Car Service Section; also with Cunningham and could get any statistical information available at either of these offices. There were some kinds of current information relating to services, labor relations and capital expenditures for improvements that were not available for release.

I found that some of the subordinates in the McAdoo organization were suspicious of the purposes of some of Baruch's subordinates, such as myself. I did not have much success in getting inside information at the Railroad Administration and I was very careful not to excite suspicion.

As I had gained entrance that promised further development in Washington we decided to move from Raleigh to Washington. Daughter Ada was born at Raleigh, July 19, 1918. As soon as she was old enough to travel we moved the household goods out of the house at Raleigh and shipped them by rail to Washington. We bought a bungalow type house on Keokuk Street in Chevy Chase, D. C. Grace and the children went to Bon Air, Virginia to live until the goods could be placed in the Chevy Chase house. The boys both picked up the flu bug which was very bad that fall and Bill developed a serious case of pneumonia. We had to put him in the hospital

in Richmond and the rest of the family were settled in Chevy Chase several weeks before Bill was well enough to travel. I carried him in a blanket, put him in bed on the train and taxied to Chevy Chase. The trip and change seemed to improve his circulation and strength and he was soon able to walk. We had to buy the Chevy Chase house in order to get it; there were no houses for rent and very few apartments. I spent the last five months of 1918 in the Central Bureau assembling, compiling and charting railroad statistics. Some of my comparisons were designed to show how the Government operation was progressing in comparison to private operation in the past and in comparison with certain goals that had been forecasted in releases from the Director General. I wrote a critical comment of a progress report sent out over McAdoo's signature; results were not all that had been predicted. By the end of 1918 it was apparent that Federal Control had been and would be a failure from a financial point of view. They had raised wages and granted other benefits to labor but they had failed to raise freight rates adequately. The administration had elected as a matter of policy to hold rates down and pay the deficit out of the Treasury, as an incident of the conduct of the war. It was thought by some that savings from consolidated operation, elimination of duplicate services and facilities and reduced overhead would tend to defray the deficit.

The obvious danger after the Armistice was the Administration effort to build public support for government ownership and operation of the railroads. The McAdoo supporters were advancing the idea that private ownership had failed to provide necessary service in time of war; that competition between railroads was unnecessary and expensive; that better service to the public would be provided in time of peace at lower cost; that operation as one system and coordination of service and facilities would save large amounts in the cost of operation. This point of view did not prevail; Congress did not extend the Federal Control Act as had been recommended by McAdoo.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Railroad Administration

Near the end of the Federal Control period, James F. Carmalt, then in the Law Department of the Railroad Administration, asked me to join that organization to assist in making settlements with individual railroads for the use of their properties during the period of Federal Control. I was able to get released from the Central Bureau after the Armistice and took up my duties at the U. S. R. R. A., January 1, 1919. Federal Control continued through the year 1919 and the Administration was developing methods to determine the obligation for maintenance and the settlement of various questions raised about the rule for fixing rental compensation. An effort was being made to execute contracts with carriers under which settlements could be made without further extended negotiation or litigation. I was assigned to work with Frank Alvord who had been General Manager of the M. K. & T. and was now assisting in the negotiation of agreements. My work was directed principally to analysis of operations, earnings, maintenance and net railway operating income of the individual railroads that were pressing for modification of the so-called standard return or additional allowance for maintenance. I obtained the annual reports from the I. C. C. files and made comparative summaries of their operations for a period of ten years ending June 30, 1917. These were done according to an adopted standard and from them were made special analyses of the particular questions raised. In this way we provided the negotiating officers with material for judgment of the validity of claims. James C. Davis of Iowa was appointed Director General succeeding McAdoo and he adopted a policy of getting contracts signed by fair and liberal treatment of those who were disposed to deal on that basis. Mr. Davis felt that the best policy was to settle these claims with all the principal railroads as quickly as possible and avoid court proceedings which might bring adverse decisions on

issues that could cost the Government large amounts. He expedited consideration of the claims of the big railroads and succeeded in settling most of them before any case was adjudicated by a board of referees or the Court of Claims.

Some of the railroads insisted on concessions greater than the Director General was willing to grant and they appealed for the appointment of boards of referees by the I. C. C. pursuant to the Federal Control Act. Among these were the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, the Western Pacific and the Seaboard Air Line. The C. & E. I. was tried quite early and it seemed the Referees were rather liberal in their decision. In that case I was a witness for the Director General and I thought Commissioner Aitchison misconstrued completely the testimony I gave about the pre-war earnings of that Company. I gave figures showing the large number of old light capacity coal cars earning per diem on other railroads when the originated coal traffic of the C. & E. I. was at an all time peak during the test period. The coal business had dwindled away and most of the coal cars had been or soon would be retired because they were not worth repairing. The Government should not be required to pay rent for cars that no longer were useful to move coal traffic that no longer existed; or words to that effect. The Referees were not willing to reduce the standard return to that extent to offset increases claimed for other reasons.

I assisted in several cases and the principal ones were the Western Pacific and Seaboard Air Line. The proceedings in these two cases were interesting and exemplify the character of the issues presented. A brief description of them, solely from memory, without reference to the records, will indicate what I was doing in the period 1920-1922.

The Western Pacific Case.

The company claimed compensation exceeding the standard return because of adverse business conditions during the test period, additions to property and development of industry the earnings from which were not reflected, or not fully reflected in the test period, and inadequate maintenance during the Federal Control period. They claimed that the railroad

had sustained a large amount of damage as a result of being used by the Federal administration for a purpose and in a manner for which it was not intended to be used. This damage had been made worse because the Federal Manager had neglected to do anything toward restoring the railroad to its original condition.

There was some basis in fact for nearly all of these claims but the Director General felt that the amount of the claims was exorbitant and the Company had refused to consider any compromise offer. In view of this the Company asked for appointment of a Board of Referees. I had made the usual studies of the Western Pacific record and believed that the Director General's position was right. Some time, early in 1920, I was assigned to assist Counsel La Rue Brown in preparing for the trial of this case before the Referees.

The Western Pacific management contended that one of the important issues was the extent of the damage resulting from double track operation with the Southern Pacific in Nevada and asked that the Referees make an inspection trip over the whole railroad to see its current condition and that the hearing be held in San Francisco, the headquarters of the company, where its witnesses and its records were readily available. The Referees were Commissioner Robert W. Wooley, Attorney Examiner John J. Hickey and Director of Valuation Needham. Chairman Wooley said that he would be willing to have the referees view the property and hold the hearing in San Francisco, provided the trip could be scheduled to arrive in San Francisco on a certain day in June and begin the hearing on the following day, and also provided the Director General had no objections. All of this was agreed to. The date set for the hearing was the day on which the Democratic National Convention would open. Mr. Wooley was interested in the McAdoo for President movement.

La Rue Brown suggested that I go to the headquarters of the Western Pacific in San Francisco as soon as possible and assemble all the factual information and statistics that I could find which might be useful to us at the hearing. I might get acquainted with the Western Pacific officers whom we would see at the hearing and give him a line on them before they appeared as witnesses. I started for Frisco about the middle

of May, equipped with proper credentials. I stopped in Salt Lake City and talked with an engineering officer of the Southern Pacific who told me in detail about the double track operation and the nature of the damage to the Western Pacific track and gave me other valuable information. Then I rode the Western Pacific to Frisco and went to work in the offices there. The officers were cooperative and gave all the information I asked for. A large binder with a heavy canvas cover served to contain all the maps, blueprints and statements gathered from the several departmental offices. This was an imposing document about 11 by 16 and 6 or 8 inches thick. The pages were numbered and well indexed under the front cover.

In due time I packed up and returned to Salt Lake City to meet La Rue Brown, the Board of Referees and others who were going on the inspection trip. All of the Western Pacific people from Chairman of the Board Alvin Kreck down to the Division Superintendent were on hand. They had arranged for a hearing at the Federal Court room in Salt Lake City, to hear local witnesses, including the manager of the Salt Lake City Stock Yards Company and a Japanese who operated the boarding camps for the Western Pacific. This was just a waste of time and amounted to nothing other than an opportunity for all the parties to get acquainted while they were in a good humor. About noon we all boarded the special train of office cars with a Pullman observation car on the rear. We were all assigned to our spaces and then a splendid lunch was served while the train was pulling around the Great Salt Lake and approaching the desert. After lunch the party all settled down in the observation car and by that time there was nothing to see but the salt flats and the track stretching away behind the train. Mr. Kreck got his brief cases and presently spread a large map before the Referees and began to tell them about the railroad. La Rue Brown eyed this proceeding for a few minutes and then pleasantly asked whether the Board was having a hearing. No. They were not. Then said La Rue, it does not seem necessary or proper to present and explain maps or papers, as that can be done better in a hearing room where a record may be made and the witness cross-examined. He understood, said Brown, that this trip was arranged for

the purpose of viewing the property and he suggested the railroad was outside and could be seen through the windows. This stopped further conversation about the railroad except the physical features that could be seen from the train. Mr. Kreck packed his brief cases and put them away.

The next day we came to Wells, Nevada, the easterly end of the double track operation, which had already been terminated. From Wells to Winnemucca, Nevada, a distance of about 175 miles, the Southern Pacific single track and the Western Pacific single track were parallel and adjacent along the Humboldt River. Early in the Federal Control period the Director General had ordered these two single track lines to be used as double track and it was decided that Southern Pacific would be used for westbound trains and Western Pacific for eastbound trains; in other words all trains used the right hand track which was conventional. This joint operation had previously been discussed by the managements but no agreement reached as to terms. The Southern Pacific track was well built with 100 pound rail on deep ballast, fully tie-plated and otherwise in good condition. The Western Pacific track had lighter rail (75 or 80 pound) on thin gravel ballast without tie plates or rail anchors. The joints were staggered and the rail joints were spiked to the ties. When the eastbound traffic of both roads was routed over the Western Pacific track the rail began to creep eastward and pull the joint ties at an angle to the center line, first on one side and then on the other. This bunched the ties ahead of the rail joints and opened wide spaces back of the joints where the rail had no support. As this condition became aggravated the rails, ties and ballast were damaged, the track structure weakened and the track tended to become unsafe. The company claimed that this track was severely damaged for the full distance of 175 miles. It seemed that the Federal Manager had not done anything about repairing the damage, probably because there was a dispute about responsibility and also about the amount of the damage.

As soon as our train passed Wells, stops were made for the Board to inspect the track. At first the stopping places were arranged by the company; then La Rue Brown asked for stops not on the schedule on the theory that random selec-

tion might be better than prearranged stops; then the Referees sensed the possibility of error and revised the schedule to provide for more stops. As a general rule the track condition was bad and it was difficult to find spots appreciably less damaged. There could still be a difference of opinion as to how the damage could best be repaired and how much it would cost over and above normal maintenance. This was an issue for negotiation and settlement without the need for extensive investigation to adduce strict proof of the amount of damage or to refute such proof if offered.

By the time we reached Winnemucca everybody was tired from the frequent inspection stops on 175 miles of railroad. I remember walking around Reno one day and it was probably that day that we had dinner and spent the night at the Feather River Inn. We arrived at the Feather River stop about five in the afternoon. Mr. Kreck unloaded a very large leather covered cabinet and had it moved to the hotel, evidently a normally dry place. This case contained a complete bar, within limits, and all the ingredients for cocktails and highballs were available from this case and other suit cases. Nobody refused to be entertained by the Western Pacific. We had a pleasant night at the Inn and turned out early the next morning for breakfast on the train and completion of the run to Oakland. The hearing would begin at the Federal Court Room the next morning at ten o'clock. All the Democrats were in town for the convention.

Referee John Hickey called the hearing to order promptly at ten saying that Chairman Wooley would be a few minutes late and had asked him to proceed. Mr. Wooley arrived about ten thirty, apologized for being late, settled himself comfortably in the big chair and promptly went to sleep. He had, we assumed, spent the night in conference, in a smoke filled room. The Western Pacific counsel put the Chief Engineer on the stand and he described the physical property and its operative condition at length, gave the details of expenditures for additions and betterments the use of which was not fully reflected in the test period earnings; produced the orders of the Federal Manager to operate as double track in Nevada; explained that operation and why the Western Pacific track had been damaged; offered a detailed estimate of the cost of re-

pairing the damage. It was probably after lunch that La Rue Brown started cross examination of the Chief Engineer.

I had presented my book of knowledge to La Rue after we left Salt Lake City. He spent an hour or two leafing through it and examined the index carefully then asked me a few questions here and there. We did not have copies of the W. P. testimony and exhibits in advance and so we did not know exactly what questions we would have to deal with. La Rue asked me to have the book convenient for reference at the hearing. Western Pacific Counsel had used the lectern, facing the bench, instead of sitting at a table to examine the witness. So La Rue asked me to place the big book on the lectern. None of the witnesses nor counsel had seen the book before that and of course they did not know what was in it. La Rue asked a few preliminary questions, all the while consulting the index and carefully opening the book at about the middle. He placed his pencil notes of the direct examination in the open book. La Rue was skillful in picking the parts of the direct testimony as to which he judged the witness had used material suggested and prepared by others. For example, respecting the improvements claimed to have produced additional earnings not reflected in the test period, La Rue asked about the earnings or the savings and how they were determined or estimated, not about the improvement itself or what it cost. This witness was openly frank and honest and La Rue was not afraid to have the truth on the record. Now and then La Rue would turn the pages of the book and start a new line of questions; I knew there was nothing in the book that gave the answers to these questions, but the witness did not know that. The big book was a damper on the spirits of the witnesses. They assumed the answers were written down in the book when La Rue was just fishing for information. He was able to develop much useful information and some admissions that weakened the Complainants case. His basic premise was that the Government wanted to compensate the railroad fully for the use of its property; at the same time some of the claims could not be supported by the facts.

It was the second or third day that the Western Pacific counsel and Mr. Kreck concluded that they had better reexamine some of their claims and possibly plug up some of the

holes that Brown had punched in their presentation. There were some defects in their ideas that had not occurred to them previously. Also they realized that this hearing was not just a formality but an investigation of the facts and that their claims would have to be supported by strict legal evidence. So it turned out that the Western Pacific asked for a continuance of the hearing in Washington at a convenient date in September or October when they would have further evidence to present. This was agreed to and the hearing was recessed to a time to be announced later.

When the hearing was resumed in October, Western Pacific had another lawyer, an urbane gentleman about 75 years of age, white hair and white whiskers (whose name has escaped me), partner member of a prominent law firm in New York. They also had a new expert witness. La Rue Brown began to object about as soon as this witness began to talk and continued at every opportunity; he was trying to exclude unsupported opinions. The old lawyer changed and withdrew many questions, was quick to acknowledge the validity of objections; he was the most polite and agreeable man I had seen; but he was persistent in his effort to get a certain point across to the Board and Brown was determined that he would have none of it. As the hearing recessed for lunch the old man asked that the recess be extended to ten o'clock the following morning and this was agreed to.

I did not know that this Counsel and Alvin Kreck had an engagement to see the Director General in the afternoon. When the hearing resumed the next morning Western Pacific counsel moved to terminate; the company would withdraw its petition or make other motions to conclude the case. The Western Pacific had reached an agreement with the Director for final settlement. The Director General with our support had approved a substantial payment for damages resulting from the double track operation; this, of course, was the weakest point in our position and the best basis for compromise. The cost of repairing the damage was not easily estimated with certainty. Making a liberal allowance for this the Director General was able to accomplish a satisfactory settlement.

The Seaboard Air Line Case.

This was the second important case in which I was engaged. I had served in the operating department there through most of the Standard Return period and the early part of the Federal Control period. S. Davies Warfield, Chairman of the Board, had employed M. J. Caples, formerly a Vice President of the Chesapeake and Ohio, as Vice President of the Seaboard. He was charged with the duty of preparing and processing the claim of the Seaboard against the Director General for increased compensation, deferred maintenance and cancellation of all charges against the Company for additions and betterments made during the Federal Control period. Mr. Caples and Mr. Powell, then Chief Accounting Officer had presented these claims to the Director General who told them that he thought the claims were exorbitant and not supported by the facts. They, or Mr. Warfield, elected not to discuss any compromise acceptable to the Director General. The Seaboard applied for appointment of Referees and Messrs. Hickey (of Western Pacific fame) Chairman, George Curtis, an accountant and Brown, a lawyer examiner, were appointed.

One of the Seaboard's claims was for the value in use of a new line of railroad from Hamlet to Savannah, via Charleston, 268 miles long, an alternate for the main line via Columbia, 232 miles. The new line served a promising agricultural territory in South Carolina and the City of Charleston. The link from Charleston to Savannah had some agricultural possibilities and completed the alternate low grade railroad between Savannah and Hamlet. This line was not completed until near the end of the test period and probably was not used for through traffic to any considerable extent prior to 1918. The Federal Administration had the use of this investment of perhaps $8 or $10 million, without compensation unless it agreed to increase the rental over and above the Standard Return, or make a special allowance. The issue before the Board was whether the line had additional value in view of its state of development and extent of use during the Control period. The Seaboard claim emphasized the physical characteristics and the savings which resulted, or which could have been obtained by the Director General from its operation. If the Director

General had not used it to the fullest extent in the manner intended, that was not the fault of the Company. This issue was a bone of contention at the hearings. An interesting question was whether the facts of the operation, as to how the property was used during Federal Control, were pertinent and admissible. The Director could have failed to use it properly. We said that the same people who designed and built the line were in charge of its operation for the Director. Presumably they operated in good faith; they did not have any orders from the Director General concerning the line and its use.

Another important issue was the money that the Director General had spent for improvements during Federal Control and had charged to the Company. All of these projects had been initiated by the management prior to Federal Control or by the Federal Manager during control. Every item had been approved in writing by the Federal Manager, Mr. Harahan, who had been the President prior to Federal Control. The presumption was that all of these works were well considered and constituted necessary and useful additions to the property, that they were made in the public interest and in the best interests of the Company. Seaboard asserted that none of these improvements were necessary, none of the money should have been expended and the Company would not pay for any part of it.

I made a detailed study of the operation of the Hamlet-Savannah line and of the freight traffic moved over the Hamlet-Columbia-Savannah line and deduced reasons why it moved over the old line instead of the new line. The movements over the new line had been very slow; one reason was inadequate and unsuitable motive power. Very little of the high speed through freight traffic actually moved over the new line. I also made studies of the traffic developed along the new line and at Charleston. Some of the local territory and the City of Charleston had been served exclusively by the Atlantic Coast line for many years and it could have handled the competitive traffic which the Seaboard obtained after completion of the new line.

My recollection is that there were three rather long hearings at one of which I put in my studies and some conclusions based on the facts in the study. Seaboard counsel did not cross

examine me at length; his people had checked my factual material and he did not want to test my opinions because he claimed the whole record of what the Director General did in the operation of the property was immaterial and he had objected to it being admitted.

Counsel for the Seaboard was Forney Johnston, of Alabama. The Director General was represented by La Rue Brown, of Harvard, and Sydney Andrews and toward the end also by Claude Porter, of Iowa, later a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Brown and Johnston clashed frequently. One day Brown asked a witness if he had available the original records from which the witness said he had summarized certain information, and then demanded that the records be physically present as he wanted to examine them. Johnston protested loudly that this was an unreasonable request in a proceeding of this character; that he could not be expected to bring a freight car load of records to Washington. Finally, Johnston said that if Brown wanted to see the records he could go where the records were stored; if he did not wish to go there he knew where he could go so far as Johnston was concerned. And then on request he named the place. Chairman Hickey recessed the hearing for a few minutes until order could be restored.

At the last of the hearings the Seaboard Vice President presented a statement of all the expenditures for additions and betterments made during Federal Control for which the Director General claimed the Seaboard should pay. This was a bound volume, probably two inches thick, containing details of several hundred projects costing several million dollars. We had been furnished a copy of this document and studied it carefully in the light of our knowledge of the physical property and had made marginal notes for cross-examination. Witness said that he had made a thorough study of all those items and he was prepared to say that none of them was necessary and that the Seaboard should not be required to pay a single dollar. This was an amazing statement that presumably could not be true; surely in all that list of projects approved by the Federal Manager there must have been some that were fully warranted and justified. Brown decided to ask him about every item in the volume if necessary to find some that could

be excepted from this sweeping condemnation. He expected that he might have real trouble.

Brown started by asking about his familiarity with the railroad, how long he had known it, what inspection trips he had made and how he had traveled. He had seen most of the railroad from the observation end of his office car. He avoided being specific as to localities where he had inspected property on the ground. Brown turned to the Exhibit and asked what improvements had been made at Monroe, N. C. Witness would not answer until his assistant had found the page in the Exhibit, where the work was described under the heading "Additional Stalls and other improvements at Engine House, Monroe." Was that one of the improvements that was unnecessary and should not have been made? He could not remember when he had been at Monroe; he was not certain that he had been there at any time. What facts would warrant an improvement such as additional stalls and how was the necessary capacity of an engine house determined? Witness could not answer questions as to the volume of business, the number of engines turned or the number of any other functions performed there. Brown quickly turned to another project. The witness could not answer specific questions about individual projects and Brown did not ask any general questions. Before it became wearisome to the Examiners, Brown said that he had no more questions and Johnston did not ask a single question on redirect.

There were several weak spots in the Seaboard's case which probably became apparent even to them but they continued to the finish, filed briefs and submitted the case to the Referees for decision. Several months went by while George Curtis labored writing the report and the decision. Meanwhile I had moved to Richmond as Assistant to President of the Chesapeake and Ohio. Mr. Harahan, then President of the C. & O. had been interested in the Seaboard's contention that the money spent for improvements during Federal Control was wasted. H. C. Pearce, formerly Chief Purchasing Officer of the Seaboard and then Chief Purchasing Officer of the Chesapeake and Ohio, had been called as a witness for Seaboard and was in the hearing room when the Vice President was cross-examined by Brown. Pearce told Harahan, that in his

opinion, the Seaboard's case on that issue had been wrecked; Harahan's record was vindicated and he need not be called as a witness by the Director General.

Pearce was most eager to get home on an evening train and asked me to tell Brown about his situation. After Pearce had finished his direct testimony Brown asked me if I had any questions to suggest and I said no; Brown released Pearce. I believe that Pearce's report to Harahan stimulated the latter's interest in asking me to come to the Chesapeake and Ohio.

After I had moved to Richmond in 1922 Director General Davis asked me to come to Washington for a conference. La Rue Brown and Andrews were there when I arrived. Davis outlined in general terms the conditions of a settlement he had just worked out with the Seaboard management and asked my opinion. I replied at once that it was a good settlement; the exorbitant claims had been dropped and the Seaboard was entitled to have some increased compensation. They had agreed to pay for substantially all the improvements, which was right. Davis said that the decision of the Board of Referees was about ready to be released; he did not know, of course, what was in it, but he knew there were some legal questions involved in the case that he would rather not have adjudicated at that time, nor until he had settled several other pending claims. Davis said he wanted me to have the facts about the Seaboard settlement before it became public so that I would know how to answer questions. Brown and Andrews had already approved the settlement.

Within a few days after the Seaboard settlement was announced I met George Curtis on the street in Washington. He pulled me aside and asked if I knew what those people had done with the Seaboard case. I said, yes, in a general way. He said he had worked for months writing a report and had convinced Hickey and Brown that they ought to sign it. Then as they were about to release it the Director General and the Seaboard had notified the Board that the parties had agreed upon a settlement. He thought it was a dirty trick on the Board and he believed the Director General had given the Seaboard more than the Board's decision would have granted. He was going to make it his business to find out just what the settlement had cost and tell about it on the Hill, if he ever had

an opportunity. I said, "Well, after all, you know, either party could have appealed the decision of the Board to the Court of Claims; there were several questions involved, including legal questions, as to which unbiased men might disagree; the money value of some of the claims could not be determined mathematically. The value of the whole claim was a matter of judgment and nobody could say that a lump sum settlement was obviously too high or too low. Some considerations may not have been fully developed on the record before the Board. It seemed to me better to settle such matters by negotiation and from what I had heard of the settlement I thought it was reasonable."

CHAPTER XXIV

Washington to Cleveland

When we moved to Washington in 1918 we had to purchase a house in order to find a place to live. This was a bungalow on Keokuk Street, later named Military Road, near the northern extremity of Rock Creek Park and not far from Chevy Chase Circle. There were wide areas of woods and fields to explore and pick blackberries in season. The bungalow was high above the street level, perhaps twenty five feet with concrete steps up to the front walk. The front yard was small. There was a sleeping porch in the back where we all slept in the open air in the summer. There was room for a small vegetable garden back of the house and beyond that a wooded hillside with many chestnut trees and other trees and shrubs. This made a wonderful playground.

John and Bill went to public school at Chevy Chase Circle and there also was an Episcopal Church which we all attended. The Capital Traction Company operated electric cars from Pennsylvania Avenue to Chevy Chase Circle, perhaps five miles. I could ride on the car to the intersection of Eighteenth Street, east of Rock Creek Bridge, and walk from there to the office as quickly as riding the car around to the downtown area. The boys enjoyed going downtown on Saturdays to the Smithsonian, Library of Congress and other points of interest. At that time there was a moving picture theatre, the Knickerbocker, on Connecticut Avenue, I believe, not far from the Rock Creek Bridge and convenient to the Chevy Chase street cars. It was the nearest motion picture to us and we went there frequently. It was on January 28, 1922, that the roof of the Knickerbocker collapsed under the weight of heavy snow drifts and 98 people killed. I remember the snow storm and particularly the fact that I had to walk all the way home from the office before transportation service could be restored.

Moving from Washington to Richmond in 1922 was not like traveling to a far country; we had lived in Richmond from 1914 to 1916. The value of real estate having increased in

Washington we realized from the sale of the Keokuk street house enough for a down payment on 3605 Brook Road in Ginter Park, Richmond. It stood on a large lot 100 by 230 feet deep with spacious lawns front, rear and north side and a garden lot at the rear. It was a frame and stucco building, roomy but not expensive construction. There we could have a dog and a cat and even a Shetland Pony. There was a good public school nearby and St. Thomas Episcopal Church in easy walking distance.

We lived on Brook Road for seven years. When we moved from there in 1929 John had finished at John Marshall High School and entered University of Michigan and Bill was in high school; Ada was eleven and nearly ready for Junior High. One could say that all the usual things happened while we lived in Richmond. That was the period of Coolidge prosperity and life had a rosy hue most of the time. I became a vestryman at St. Thomas Church. We bought our first automobile, a Buick, which I drove once around the block, rammed into a tree and never afterward tried to drive an automobile.

When we moved from Richmond to Cleveland we did not purchase a house; it took some time to dispose of the Brook Road house and not at a profit. Moreover the Van Sweringen Company had several very nice houses vacant in Shaker Heights in the summer of 1929 and we rented from them 3125 South Moreland where we lived for eight years at a reasonable rental.

Just before we moved to Richmond in 1922, sometime in the spring of that year, I traveled to the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minn. Mother and Sister Bert had been there for some weeks while Mother was undergoing an operation for cancer. She had been released from the hospital and was ready to leave for home when I arrived. I went with them to St. Paul where they boarded the Great Northern train for Great Falls. Mother seemed cheerful and quite able to travel but she did not know that the operation had uncovered an incurable condition. That was the last time I saw her alive; she died August 9, 1922. I went to Great Falls for the funeral.

I had visited my family in Great Falls only a few times in the last twenty years since leaving home. Father had been appointed Deputy Clerk of the District Court and served in

that office for many years until political changes caused his retirement. He had been worshipful Master of the Great Falls lodge of Free Masons and Mother was Worthy Matron of the Eastern Star. Both of them had attended Grand Lodge meetings. My brother John and sisters Bertha, Mary Jane and Bess had lived at home much of the time until Mother died. Bertha was then a widow and her small son Jack had been cared for by mother and father Marshall many times while Bertha was away from home. Mother's death was the beginning of the breaking up of the Great Falls home; the girls moved to quarters more convenient to their work and Bertha moved to Butte, Montana. Father died in 1928 in the Columbus Hospital at Great Falls where he had been bed-ridden for more than a year.

The Chesapeake and Ohio.

I was appointed Assistant to the President of the Chesapeake and Ohio on June 15, 1922. Control of operating expenses and the establishment of budgetary control methods was my principal occupation during the first year or two. After Mr. R. N. Begien was elected Vice President in charge of operations in 1923 and operating performance began rapidly to improve I began to study seriously the subject of consolidation of railroads pursuant to Transportation Act of 1920. I have recorded in a separate memorandum my interests and activities in relation to the efforts of the Van Sweringen brothers to establish the so-called System Number 6 in Eastern territory. I was especially active in that work from 1924 to 1929.

John J. Bernet had been President of the Erie since 1927 when he was elected President of the Chesapeake and Ohio and Pere Marquette effective July 1, 1929 and established his office in the Terminal Tower in Cleveland. Mr. Harahan was appointed Senior Vice President and he also moved to Cleveland. Gradually other officers moved from Richmond to Cleveland. At that time I was preparing a statement entitled, "Chesapeake and Ohio Unification in Eastern Territory" and had several assistants working in Washington. This book, which we called the Armistice Day book, was completed and

published November 11, 1929. The preface stated in part, "the purpose is to assemble the salient facts now at hand in convenient form for the use of those interested * * * with some approach to logical arrangement, interspersed with so much of argument and comment as seems necessary to link the facts together and show their bearing upon the issues." The Chesapeake and Ohio had filed an application asking for a finding and opinion by the Commission that the acquisition of control of the named carriers would be in the public interest. The Commission issued its so-called final plan in December 1929 which in effect constituted an opinion that such grouping of the carriers named, with minor exceptions, would be in the public interest.

Living in Cleveland.

At Mr. Bernet's request I established my office on the 19th floor of the Terminal Tower and moved my family to Cleveland in July 1929. As soon as the Armistice Day book was released most of my office people moved from both Washington and Richmond to Cleveland. We lived at 3125 South Moreland Boulevard in a house rented from the Van Sweringen Company until February 1937.

Early in 1937 we arranged to build a new home at 20776 Brantley Road and moved there in February of that year. At the time we moved to Cleveland John was attending the University of Michigan, Bill finished high school at Shaker Senior High and went to Michigan the following year; Ada attended the Shaker Heights schools for about six years until graduation in 1935.

In Richmond we belonged to the Episcopal Church and coming to Cleveland we looked at St. Pauls at Coventry and Fairmount. However, before we made any approaches Ada attended church school with school friends at Plymouth Church of Shaker Heights which was only two blocks from where we lived. We started going to Plymouth Church and became interested in the sermons of Dr. Miles H. Krumbine; it was not long before we joined Plymouth and that has been our church home ever since.

Summer Vacations in Wisconsin.

I think it was in the summer of 1924 that Andrew Bloomfield of Chicago called on me in Richmond to seek the privilege of selling accident and health insurance to employes of the railroad. He represented the Benefit Association of Railway Employes which he had helped to organize on the Chicago and Northwestern Railway. He held rights as a conductor on the C. & N. W. at the time he called on me. He told me about a summer camp which the Association sponsored near Woodruff, Wisconsin to which B. A. R. E. members could go to recuperate after sickness or injury; he invited me to come and see it and bring the family. This seemed like a fine place for a summer vacation; the weather was usually too warm for comfort in Richmond during July and August. So we packed up and traveled to Wisconsin. We stayed two or three weeks and upon leaving we were told that our cabin and meals were all paid for; compliments of the B. A. R. E. I wrote to Mr. Bloomfield and thanked him for the courtesy; we liked the place and would like to return there again but we could not accept such favors from the B. A. R. E.

That camp was called Big Woods Lodge because it had a fine stand of virgin pine on the spacious grounds which had been purchased from Alex McGregor. Ed Cummings and his sisters Carrie and Estelle were owners of the property and were operating Big Woods Lodge in cooperation with the B. A. R. E., at their own risk. After the first summer I made arrangements directly with Ed Cummings and we continued to spend three or four weeks each summer there until Cummings ran into financial difficulties and the Olson Rug Company, of Chicago, acquired the property. We then moved to the Alex McGregor's Jack Pine Lodge, about half a mile around the Lake Shore from Big Woods Lodge; they were good camp managers and the McGregor women were very good cooks.

We continued to stay at Jack Pine Lodge for several summers. A few years ago when Lionel Rux and his wife Jennie McGregor built some new cabins just beyond Jack Pine we moved over with them. We have spent summer vacations at Lake St. Germain nearly every year from 1924 to 1955; prob-

John James John Smiley III William
Thomas Ross Smiley Marshall
Cleveland, Ohio, November, 1955

ably missed two years in all that time. The fishing in St. Germain and many lakes in the vicinity has been good enough to be interesting.

Winters at Hot Springs, Arkansas.

One winter while we lived in Richmond, probably 1925, I had a severe attack of flu and as soon as I could get out Grace and I arranged a trip from New York to New Orleans by sea. We arrived in New Orleans at the time of the Mardi Gras. We did not care for New Orleans; so we got on the train and went to Hot Springs, Arkansas. We found Hot Springs was just the place where one could rest and loaf and take baths and we went back there year after year whenever we could. We still think that it is the place for us to rest in the winter time.

CHAPTER XXV

Serving the Chesapeake and Ohio

As early as 1928 I began to study the bituminous coal producing territory tributary to the C. & O. Lines and especially those deemed to be marginal in the sense that they were accessible to development by other railroads. I was authorized by the President to make a survey of the entire field to determine the quantity and quality of coal available to the railroad; we were particularly interested in those areas which might be held or gained by timely extension of service by building new branch lines.

We employed a firm of mining engineers (Ferguson and Gates of Beckley, W. Va.) to assemble data from the State Geological Surveys and the explorations of coal producers and land owners. This work continued for ten or twelve years; the information assembled was spread on maps for each watershed and each coal producing field. The railroad engineers, meanwhile, made initial surveys of railroad line extensions to reach all the undeveloped areas and estimated the probable cost of each extension. We prepared a printed pamphlet describing the boundaries or outside limits of the coal territory. We tabulated the estimates of coal tonnage of the assured and probable reserves in each watershed. The locations of proposed railroad extensions were shown on the maps and described in detail in the pamphlet.

The outside limits of the coal areas, as described, contemplated a liberal allocation of the marginal areas to the Chesapeake and Ohio assuming that it would be able to obtain the support of coal producers and the approval of public authority to reach and serve these marginal areas. There was no doubt that some of these developments would be contested by other railroads. Looking backward it is known that some of these developments were contested and the C. & O. did not succeed in holding all of the territory so allocated. However, the study accurately forecasted the probabilities and served to facilitate long range planning. While these studies were being carried

on John W. Davin was in charge of coal traffic development until he was elected President of the Nickel Plate Road in 1942. Walter J. Tuohy succeeded him. I had the privilege of working with both of them on these problems and consulting with Ira Davis, coal development Engineer of the C. & O.

Summary of My Appointments on the C. & O.

Changes in my status as an officer of the C. & O. and as Director and/or officer of other corporations in which the C. & O. had investments or interests came about in relation to other changes as follows:

Appointed Vice President of Chesapeake and Ohio and Hocking Valley, June 19, 1928.

When C. & O. acquired control of Pere Marquette in 1929, Robert J. Bowman was elected Vice President at Detroit and I was elected Vice President at Cleveland.

J. J. Bernet died July 5, 1935. W. J. Harahan was elected President of C. & O., Pere Marquette and Nickel Plate July 23, 1935 and George D. Brooke was elected Executive Vice President of all three roads.

I was elected Vice President of Nickel Plate July 30, 1935.

Mr. Bernet had been a Director of Railroad Credit Corporation since its organization. I was elected to succeed him October 15, 1935 and continued to serve as such until the R. C. C. was dissolved several years later.

O. P. Van Sweringen died November 23, 1936, after being thrown from bed in his office car at Scranton, Pa., en route to New York. His brother M. J. died several months earlier. Herbert Fitzpatrick was elected Chairman of the Board of C. & O. February 16, 1937.

W. J. Harahan died December 14, 1937. George D. Brooke was elected President of all three roads on December 29, 1937.

On January 15, 1938 I was elected a Director of the Belt Railway of Chicago succeeding George D. Brooke and continued there until succeeded by Charles J. Geyer about ten years later.

On October 27, 1936 I was elected a Director of the Pittston Company and served until the C. & O. interest in the Pittston Company was terminated August 31, 1943.

February 18, 1941 elected Director of Pere Marquette and of the Nickel Plate Road.

At the annual meeting of the C. & O. in 1942 Robert R. Young was elected Chairman of the Board. In December 1942 Carl Newton was elected President of the C. & O.; John W. Davin was elected President of the Nickel Plate and Robert J. Bowman was elected President of the Pere Marquette. This separation of the managements followed by the elimination of interlocking directors was intended to clear the way for independent representation in negotiations for consolidation or merger.

February 18, 1943 I was elected a Director of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad succeeding George D. Brooke.

Early in 1943 Walter J. Tuohy was elected Vice President of the Chesapeake and Ohio in charge of coal traffic and development. Messrs. Newton and Tuohy were called upon to serve in the bituminous coal administration of the Federal Government in Washington for several months in 1943.

Arch T. Lowmaster was elected Executive Vice President of the Chesapeake and Ohio and I was elected Senior Vice President of C. & O., Nickel Plate and Pere Marquette, August 17, 1943.

Carl Newton retired and was succeeded by Robert J. Bowman as President of the C. & O. in 1944. Mr. Bowman, on account of ill health, retired and was succeeded by Walter J. Tuohy in 1946. The Pere Marquette had then been merged with the C. & O.

On June 30, 1949, having attained the age of 69, I was officially retired from service, and thereafter served as consultant to Mr. Tuohy until December 31, 1953 after serving more than 31 years.

National Carloading Corporation.

When Mr. Bernet came to the Chesapeake and Ohio in 1929 it was expected that C. & O., Nickel Plate, Pere Marquette and Erie would become the nucleus of a railroad system in Eastern territory. These railroads and others were beginning to lose less than carload freight and considerable truck load

movement of rail carload freight to highway carriers. It was thought that an aggressive forwarding company with highway trucking affiliates would be an effective instrument to hold this kind of business to the railroads. The New York Central and the Pennsylvania had both organized forwarding companies. The C. & O., Pere Marquette and Erie acquired control of Standard Carloading Corporation and a large interest in a trucking company. The forwarding company later acquired the National Carloading Corporation from an affiliate of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Robert J. Bowman and I both served as directors of National Carloading for several years beginning July 14, 1933. The basic idea of concentrating L. C. L. shipments for car load movement by rail was sound. The Erie and Pere Marquette both received substantial traffic from National. The Erie provided the New York terminal for National on Manhattan Island and obtained a substantial part of the profitable traffic. The Pere Marquette and Nickel Plate handled substantial volumes through the Buffalo gateway for several years. The C. & O. was not so situated geographically that it could expect to handle very much forwarder traffic. After the Pere Marquette was merged with the C. & O. the controlling interest in National was sold to the Erie.

As the forwarding business became subject to I. C. C. regulation and after the passage of the Motor Vehicle section of the Interstate Commerce Act, forwarder operations became more restricted and less profitable. It was necessary that the forwarding company should be free to use any form of transportation and any carrier that could provide required service at lowest cost to the forwarder. A railroad could get forwarders business by providing stations at reasonable cost for concentration. However, the owning railroads could not subsidize the forwarder; the forwarder necessarily had complete freedom of action in the selection of carriers and routes and was solely dependent upon his own efforts to secure profitable traffic.

The Pittston Company.

About the time C. & O. first invested in Erie stocks the Pittston Company was organized to take over the anthracite

mining operations of the Pennsylvania Coal Company and other Erie subsidiaries. Shares of Pittston common stock were offered to stockholders of Erie, pro rata, at $20 a share to provide $20 million of capital for Pittston. The C. & O. subscribed for its share; a minority interest. Pittston used this money to purchase wholesale and retail anthracite agencies in the New York Metropolitan Area and in Boston, Mass. This was done in the belief that control of production, distribution and sale of anthracite, from mine to consumer, would be advantageous from a competitive viewpoint. The Pittston Company leased the coal mining properties and assumed the burden of operating them on a break even basis, at least, after royalties. Pittston also became responsible as stockholder for operation of the wholesale and retail operators. There was a tendency to fix or control the prices of the retailers for coal purchased from specified wholesalers. Losses occurred all along the line. Pittston being in need of funds to carry on these operations obtained loans from a subsidiary of the Chesapeake and Ohio. William H. Wenneman and I were elected to the Pittston Board of Directors in 1936 in view of the loans which had been extended by the C. & O.

The situation of the Pittston Company was not too bright when Joseph P. Routh was elected President. He succeeded by reorganizing activities and expanding in profitable directions in taking advantage of opportunities arising during and after World War II. The C. & O. received payment in full for all of its loans and later distributed its Pittston common stock to the stockholders of the C. & O. Then Mr. Wenneman and I resigned from the Pittston Board.

CHAPTER XXVI

Church and Other Affiliations

Although we belonged to the Episcopalian church in Washington and in Richmond, Grace and I joined Plymouth Church of Shaker Heights a year or two after we came to Cleveland. I was elected Treasurer of Plymouth early in 1933 and was installed about the time Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated President of the United States. I had been Treasurer only a few days when nearly all the banks in Cleveland were closed by Federal Action. The main checking account of Plymouth Church was in a bank which closed at that time and never reopened. Homer Horth, Finance Chairman and I faced the problem of running the church finances with cash contributions from members whose bank accounts also were impounded. At that time an insurance company held a sizeable mortgage on the property of Plymouth Church; the note was personally endorsed by about twenty-five members of the church. The payments on this mortgage were defaulted. The insurance company accepted our promise to make good as soon as we could and later refunded the note on a more liberal basis. After this mortgage was paid off the church was free of debt until the large new educational additions were constructed beginning in 1952.

In 1953 I was Chairman of a committee to find and recommend a person to be called as Pastor to succeed Dr. Miles H. Krumbine who resigned January 15, 1953. If ever a Committee needed God's help and guidance this one did and I shall always believe that it was granted to us. Our Committee was appointed in February and we were ready in June to recommend to the Congregation that Dr. Robert I. Blakesley be called to the pulpit in September. We felt that time was of the essence because a church does not prosper without an active minister. As this is written Dr. Blakesley is serving his third year as Pastor and Plymouth Church appears to be entering a new era of expanded service.

Some years ago I was elected Moderator of the Congregational Union of Cleveland and served for three years and later reelected for a term of one year. The Cleveland Union is administered by an Executive Secretary and Minister who supervises its activities under the direction of a Board of Trustees. The Ohio State Conference of Congregational Christian Churches has a State Superintendent and Minister. These two officers were in the same building in Cleveland and when it appeared that a new Superintendent might be called by the State I proposed to merge the offices of the State and the Union under one Superintendent with an adequate staff in the interest of closer cooperation between the two. This idea did not appeal to the Trustees of either body. The State Conference called Rev. Everett A. Babcock as Superintendent and Minister and during my term as Moderator the Union called Rev. Okey R. Swisher as Executive Secretary and Minister. These two hardworking Christians occupy adjacent offices in the new home of the Fellowship and have worked together with splendid success.

Defiance College.

At commencement on June 4, 1951, Defiance College conferred upon me the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. I suppose that Randall F. Fullmer of Cleveland, a Trustee of Defiance College, proposed my name for this recognition. On that same day Governor Frank J. Lausche and Mrs. Marguerite Campbell Reilly, Superintendent of the Ohio Reformatory for Women, received honorary degrees. On April 7, 1951 Kevin Coyle McCann was elected to succeed Harold D. Hopkins as President of Defiance College. Mr. McCann was warmly recommended by Dwight D. Eisenhower then President of Columbia University. After Eisenhower was elected President of the United States in 1952, Kevin McCann was frequently called to Washington and early in 1954 he was granted leave of absence to December 31, 1956 at President Eisenhower's request. In June 1954 I was nominated by the Ohio Conference of Congregational Christian Churches to be a member of the Board of Trustees of Defiance for a term of three years. During my service there, difficult financial problems and administrative questions arising from the absence of the Presi-

dent on leave, have concerned the Trustees. The appointment of Ralph W. Peters as Acting President has helped greatly to solve the problems.

Council For Social Action.

The Council for Social Action was created as an agency of the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches at Oberlin in 1933. The resolutions were loosely drawn so as to permit political activities probably not envisioned at the time. The Council had been criticized by conservative elements of the fellowship. In 1954 I became interested in the question whether the Council for Social Action, supported by benevolence contributions of the members of our churches, should be permitted to lobby for or against legislation in Congress, without specific mandate from the members. It was argued that the Council had no way of ascertaining the wishes or opinions of the members and that it could not be effective in promoting social reforms unless it had the right to choose its own goals and act according to its own superior knowledge and judgment. There was no doubt that those appearing for the Council and claiming to represent the Churches supported opinions on political issues that were contrary to the views of many members including myself. A Board of Review was appointed and made a report early in 1954 which I thought supported the critics and which some of the social action enthusiasts construed as an endorsement of the Council. I wrote a pamphlet on this subject which was printed and circulated among members of Plymouth Church.

My pamphlet was written after the Board of Trustees of Plymouth voted to discontinue financial support to the C. S. A. through the apportionment giving to Benevolences. I believe that the Churches should be alert to understand social problems and to support measures for social reforms, especially in the community locally. On the other hand the leaders in such studies and actions should always be conscious of the fact that their supporters have varying opinions on many political issues. When social action groups become crusaders for radical political reforms or even for some legislative proposals on controversial issues they must expect criticism and withdrawal of financial support.

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